



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
Getty Research Institute

ACCOUNTS *and* EXTRACTS

OF THE

MANUSCRIPTS

IN THE

Library of the King of France.

PUBLISHED UNDER THE

INSPECTION OF A COMMITTEE

OF THE

Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris.

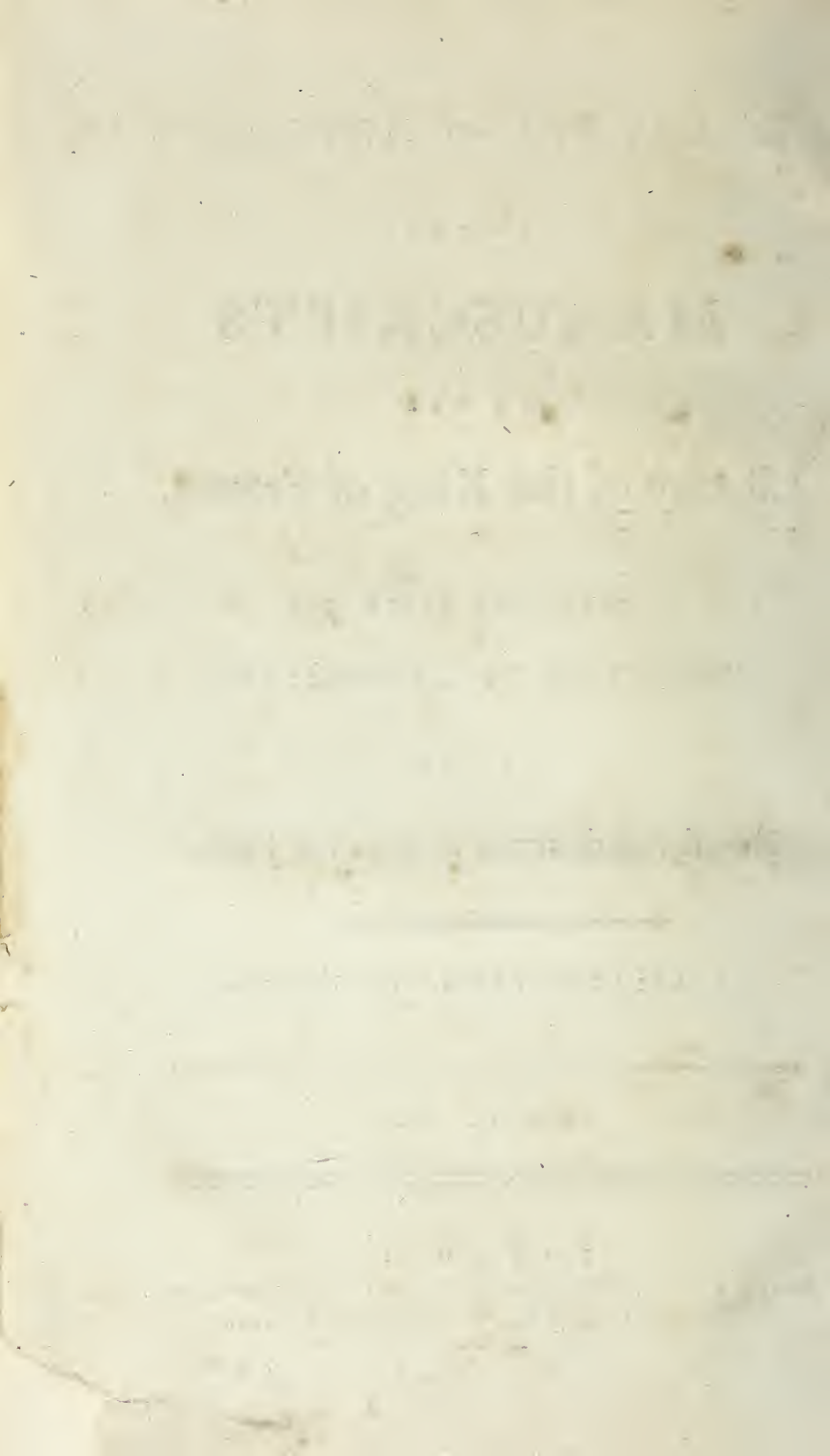
TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR R. FAULDER, NEW BOND-STREET; T. AND J. EGERTON,
WHITEHALL; AND E. AND T. WILLIAMS, STRAND.

M,DCC,LXXXIX.



C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

S E C O N D V O L U M E.

	Page
T HE book of the wandering stars, containing the history of Egypt and Caire, by the Scheik Shemsedden-Mohammed-ben-Abilforour al Bakeri al Sadiki. By M. SYLVESTRE DE SACY, I	
Instructions given to Moreau de Wissant, chamberlain, Peter Roger de Lyssac, master of the household to the duke of Anjou, &c. Relation of the embassy of Arnaut d'Espagne, lord of Montespan, senechal of Carcassone, &c. Relation of the embassy of Migon de Rochefort, lord de la Pomerade, &c. By M. GAILLARD, - -	153
A Relation of the death of Richard II. king of England. By the same, - -	197
An account of the manuscripts in the king's library, numbered 5962 and 5963, containing the history of the reigns of Charles VII. and Louis XI. by Amelgard, a prince of Liege. By M. DU THEIL, 237	
	An

- An account of a Swedish manuscript in the king's library, No. $\frac{10204}{55}$ entitled, Chronicon regum Sueciæ scriptum ab Olao Petri fratre Laurentii Trici, primi post reformationem archiepiscopi, qui vixit circa annum 1520. By M. DE KERALIO,* - - - - - 285
- An account of a manuscript in the king's library, No. 178, among the manuscripts of Brienne, entitled, A criminal Process against Robert de Artois, count de Beaumont, a peer of France. By M. DEL AVERDY,* - - - - - 337
- The history of the Atabek princes in Syria, by Aboulhasan Aly, surnamed Azz-eddin, son of Al-athir-al-Dgezeri, called Ebn-al-athir, or Ben-al-athir, a writer of the thirteenth century of the Christian æra. By M. DE GUIGNES,* - - - - - 418

THE
BOOK
OF THE
WANDERING STARS,
CONTAINING
The History of Egypt and Cairo.

By the Sheik *Schemseddin Mohammed ben Abilforour al-Bakeri al Sadiki*.

Arabian Manuscript, No. 784, Quarto, 175 Leaves.

By M. SYLVESTRE DE SACY.

SCHEMSEDDIN Mohammed, the author of this work, was as distinguished by the nobleness of his origin, as by his literary merit. He was descended from Mahomet by Ali, and reckoned among his ancestors, Mohammed Bakeri and Diarfar Sadiki, (sons of Bakeri) the fifth and sixth imams; on which account he bears the surnames of Bakeri and Sadiki. It appears that he was born at Cairo, in the year 1005 of the hegira, of Jesus Christ 1596-7, under the government of Seïd Mohammed Pacha; if it was on account of his birth, (as there is reason to believe) that his father sheik

Abilforour, gave in that city a magnificent feast, which lasted forty days, and to which the pacha was invited. He informs us of this circumstance in his works, where he contents himself with saying, that this feast was given on this occasion, without entering further into the subject.

His grandfather sheik Mohammed ben Abilforour Almesri Albakeri Alsadiki Altëimi, was author of a book called, "The Sources of History, and the Delight of the Eyes." It is an universal history from the beginning of the world. He has also made an abridgement of this work, under the title of "Collection of the most curious Relations relating to the History of the Kings and the Kalifs." Hadji Khalfa, who makes mention of it in his library of Arabic, Turkish, and Persian writers of the century in which he wrote, say, "This author bore also the surname of *Sebt Albassan*, the "outcast of the family of Hassan;" and it is by this name that he is usually cited, as M. de Herbelot has remarked.

Another writer, who still bears the name of Sadiki, is the sheik Delaleddin Mohammed ben Asad Alsadiki, who died in the year 907, of Jesus Christ 1501-2. He was also of the same family as our author, who mentions him in the work of which we are now going to give an account. Djelaled-din has composed for sultan Mahmoud, an introduction to the sciences, under the title of "Enmou-ded Aloloum."

Schemseddin,

Schemseddin, author of this history of Egypt and Caïro, composed several other works. In many places he cites a more extensive chronicle, to which he refers for the particulars of events peculiar to the reign of each of the Ottoman sultans. This chronicle, which is unknown to me, does not really extend beyond the reign of Mustafa II. deposed for the second time in the year 1032 (1622-3); and it is doubtless for that reason that the author has inserted in his history of Egypt, a circumstantial recital of the principal events of the reign of his successor, sultan Merad, (Amurath IV.)

The other works of Schemsedden are, a history of the conquest of Egypt by the Ottomans; a small essay on the abolition of the contributions the military of Egypt compelled the labourers to pay, and which the vizir Mohammed Pacha abolished in the year 1017 (1608-9): lastly, a collection, whose object is also the history of the most remarkable revolutions which have happened in Egypt.

The history contained in this manuscript ends the first day of the year 1063, of Christ 1652-3; but the latter years have been afterwards added by the copyist. We even saw some blank pages which were designed to receive the recital of events in the reign of Mohammed IV. crowned 1058, (A. D. 1648); and of what passed in Egypt under the government of the pacha Mohammed and his successors. This manuscript, as the note which ends it proves, has been finished in the month of Dhoul-hadja 1055, (February 1646.) We may conclude

from hence with certainty, that the detail of events posterior to that date, has been afterwards added : but that is not sufficient to determine precisely where the work of the author ends.

The different writings, and the difference in the intervals of the lines, which is seen in two places, makes me think that the history of the sultans did not originally extend beyond the coronation of Ibrahim, in the month of Schawal 1049, (February 1640,) and that the history of the Beglerbegs of Egypt ended at the nomination of Ayoub Pacha in 1054 (1644). At the end of the conquest of Egypt by Selim I. the author remarks that this country has remained from that time to the year in which he wrote, which was the 1055th of the hegira, under the Ottoman dominion ; but it is possible that the copyist has substituted the year in which *he* wrote, in the place of that which the author had expressed.

The stile of this work is simple, and rather diffused, than concise : the only difficulty that appears, arises from a great number of words which we have sought in vain in the dictionaries, and which are either peculiar to the Arabs of Egypt, or introduced into the language by the mixture of the different nations who inhabit that country. There are many whose signification I have not been able to determine with precision. Such as the names of the different kinds of stuffs made by the Egyptians, and which they manufacture in that country, or formerly manufactured there : and the names
of

of the monies. We find many which appear to have been entirely unknown to our lexicographers, and which I do not recollect to have read in the relations of travellers. I have thought myself obliged to preserve the original terms: perhaps some other work will one day furnish an explanation. I have met with still more difficulty in the part which respects the natural history and the rural œconomy. The same name being often common to many plants, where, describing in any country; in Arabia for example, a plant different from that which he describes in Egypt; I have taken for my guide the *Flora Egyptiaco-Arabica* of the learned Forskal, and particularly that part of the work which treats of Egyptian plants. But to avoid in a subject to which I am a stranger, running a risk of confounding the species or the genus, in adopting one denomination in preference to another, I have been careful to add to the French word which I have thought best to use, the original term, and the name by which every plant is called in the work of the celebrated Philologus, who has adopted the system of Linnæus. I have observed the same rule for the names of some few animals.

All the names which respect government, the detail of the finances, of military discipline, all the names of offices or employments, are borrowed from the Turkish language, or derived from the Arabic roots, but susceptible of various senses. I have in general followed the interpretation of Me-

ninski, although often too indeterminate; and for the small number of those of which I have not been able to discover a precise signification, I have thought myself obliged to preserve the original appellation. I think this is the best means to render this work the most useful to those who study the eastern languages.

This history of Egypt and of Cairo, is divided into twenty chapters. I shall give in the same order, an idea of the subjects treated of in each of them; but from the third chapter I shall present a particular extract, which will contain the history of the governors of Egypt, since its reunion to the Ottoman empire by the conquest of Selim I. to our author's time; and I shall likewise translate the greater part of the thirteenth, which contains some particulars of the natural history of that country.

The first chapter treats of the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, and of the etymology of the names they bear among the Arabs. The different opinions of writers, from whom the author has extracted what he says on that subject, all unite in opinion that Egypt is called *Mistr*, from the name of Misrim, one of their first kings, or the chief of the first colony.

The second chapter has for its objects the extent and limits of Egypt. Besides the names of *the sea of Kolsom* and *the sea of Hedjaz*, the Arabian gulph is also called the *Salt Sea*, Bahr almelh: this denomination, which is also used by other Arabic writers,

writers, has not, I believe, been hitherto observed. It is also proper to remark, that in the description of the frontiers of Egypt, the author includes a part of the coast of Hedjaz, and of the Red Sea. These are his words: "After having crossed the Nile at
 " Aswan, we pass to the east of that city as far as
 " Aïdab, situated on the coast of the sea of Hed-
 " jaz, and fifteen days journey distant from Aswan.
 " From Aïdab we must cross the Salt Sea to come
 " to the coast of Hedjaz. Haura is the first city
 " of Egypt on that coast; it borders on the terri-
 " tory of Medina. This sea, which comes within
 " the limits of Egypt, is the sea of Kolsom: its
 " territory, as well eastern as western, and maritime,
 " form part of Egypt. In the eastern parts are
 " Hama, Taïba, Neïl, Medyan, Aïela, and all
 " above, to the mountain of *Almokattam**. The
 " western territory is the sea coast from Aïdab to
 " that part of the sea which washes the foot of the
 " above mountain. In the maritime part are the
 " city of Kolsom and mount Tor: from Kolsom
 " to Farma, is a day and a night's journey. This
 " is the country which separates the sea of Hedjaz
 " from the Mediterranean."

The third chapter has this title: *Of the kings of Egypt before the deluge, and during all the ages preceding the establishment of the Mahomedan religion in that country: of the kalifs and governors the of Egypt under their empire; of the princes who have succeeded*

* See the chart of the Arabian gulph by M. D'Anville.

them; and, lastly, of the governors who have exercised authority there until the year 1060 of the begira.*

I shall content myself with giving a list of the governors of Egypt for the kalifs, from the conquest of Amron ben Alâs to that of the Fatemites, without dwelling on what concerns the history of the Fatemite kalifs, of the Auoubite sultans of the two dynasties of Mamlucs; and I shall pass immediately to the conquest of Selim I. and to the history of Egypt under the Ottoman dominion. This extract will contain the recital of the most remarkable passages for more than thirty years, and some transactions foreign to Egypt, and which belong to the general history of the Turkish empire.

Selim Khan, son of Abouyezid, (Bajazet II.) and grandson of Mahomet II. whose name is celebrated in history by the taking of Constantinople, was at war with Shah Ismael, who then filled the throne of Persia, and who was the first king of the dynasty of the Sophis. Selim was not ignorant that the sultan of Egypt, Cansou Algouri, was by interest connected with the king of Persia, and that while Selim carried on the war against Ismael, Cansou had prevented the caravans of Aleppo from joining his army. Being determined to take his revenge for this, Selim prepared to attack the dominions that Cansou possessed in Syria, with a design afterwards to invade Egypt. Cansou informed of

* This date has been substituted in the room of another which had been omitted.

his intention, hastened to assemble his troops, made them considerable presents, and advanced several months pay. Saturday, Kabial-akher 922, (17th May, 1516,) he began his march for Syria at the head of five thousand men, a considerable army, but too weak to resist the numerous troops of Selim.

Saturday the 22d of the same month he nominated Emir Toumanbey, governor of Egypt in his absence, and took his way to Damascus. He arrived there on the eighth of the month Dgioumadiakher, (the 7th of July, 1516,) and after having remained there nine days, he marched for Emessa, in his way to Aleppo, where he arrived on the 20th of the same month. He left that city to go in search of the enemy's army, and encamped the 20th of Redgib, (the 15th of August,) in the plain named Mardg da Cegh. The first day of the week, the 27th of the same month, in the morning, they discovered the army of Selim; and after prayers, Cansou, at the head of his army, advanced towards the enemy: the onset was very violent, and the troops of Selim were first broken by those of Cansou; but the Ottoman army having made a new effort, overthrew that of Egypt. A great number of Cansou's troops were killed on the spot, others took flight and dispersed. Cansou, with a small number of his soldiers, remained with the standard, the Emir, who bore it, represented to him, that the troops of Selim would not delay to make themselves master of it, and advised him to fly

fly for safety to Aleppo; at the same time he folded up the standard. Cansou, affected with the defeat of his army, was suddenly struck with the palsy, which deprived him of the use of one side, and his mouth remained open and motionless. He made signs for water, and after having tasted it, attempted to fly, but fell from his horse, and expired some minutes after, under the horses feet. All the baggage of the army fell into the hands of the conqueror. Thus, in one instant, an end was put to the power of this prince.

After this victory, Selim marched towards Aleppo; took possession of that city, and went from thence to Damascus. He made himself master of Cansou's treasures, of the arms, and provisions for his army, and substituted his own name in the place of that of the sultan, in all the mosques. Selim still continued to advance into the dominions of Cansou, and took possession of all the countries which had obeyed him, as far as Birket-alhady. Wednesday the 28th of Dhoulhadja, (the 21st of January, 1517,) the army of Selim attacked that of Toumenbey, who had taken possession of the throne as soon as he had received the news of Cansou's death, and defeated them. On the morrow, the last day of the year, Selim moved his camp from Reidania to Boulac: he made his entry into Cairo; went afterwards to Alexandria, and returned again to Cairo. He quitted that place Thursday the 20th of Schaban, 923, (the 27th of August, 1517,) to return to Romania. He left in Cairo a garrison
of

of 5000 horse, and 500 fusileers, and gave the command of the citadel to Kaireddin pacha, one of his officers, with orders not to go to it, or to set his foot in the city. This officer is now called the Aga of the Janissaries. When Selim quitted Egypt, he carried with him 1000 camels, loaded with gold and silver, without reckoning the rest of the plunder and the presents which he had received. "The Ottoman family has remained in possession of Egypt from this conquest of Selim, unto the time I write this, in the year 1055, (1645-6) which is a space of 133 years."

Khaïrbeg Pacha, to whom Selim, (when he quitted that province) had entrusted the government of Egypt, the principal emir, under the reign of Canfou, ill-treated the people, and loaded them with every kind of vexation. After his death, Soliman, who succeeded Selim on the throne of Constantinople, named Mustapha Pacha, to succeed him, who took possession of that government the 6th of Dhoulhadja (the 28th of October, 1522). He was succeeded the following year by Soliman Pacha: the latter endeavoured to render himself independent in his government, and coined money in his own name. The Emirs assembled the troops, and surprised him in a bath, at the time they were shaving his head. When he found himself attacked, he fled half shaved, and took refuge with an Arabian shiek. The Emirs demanded, that he should be delivered into their hands, which, being granted, they cut off his head and sent it to Constantinople:

Constantinople: he had governed Egypt about a year. He was succeeded under the reign of Soliman by Khassem Pacha and Ibrahim Pacha, who made many regulations concerning the troops and the divan. By Soliman Pacha and by Khafraf Pacha, the same Soliman who had governed before, and after him by Dawood Pacha. The latter was a man full of mildness, nobleness, and generosity. He loved and protected the learned: he had been educated in the emperor's palace, and passed from the place of Khazendar of Soliman (grand treasurer) to the government of Egypt. He loved study, and applied himself to the reading of Arabic books, of which he made a great collection: besides those he purchased, he employed a great number of writers, to procure copies of those he could not purchase. By this means he formed a considerable library.

Under his government, learning flourished; he did not give himself up to pleasure and diversions. He loaded the learned of Egypt with benefits; the people were happy, and they experienced neither enaction nor injustice. Ali Pacha succeeded him. He built or repaired many public edifices at Caïro, at Fouë, and at Rasched, and made himself beloved by his good conduct. Mahomet Pacha, who succeeded him, rendered himself odious. He was deposed and put to death, on his arrival at Constantinople, by order of the emperor. After him, Escander Pacha, Ali Pacha Alkhadem, Mustapha Pacha, Ali Pacha Alfoufi surnamed Kiloun, and
Mahmoud

Mahmoud Pacha, were successively nominated by Soliman to the government of Egypt. Ali Pacha Alfoufi had been formerly pacha of Bagdad. He carried with him some inhabitants of Aleppo, and was entrusted with the receipt of the money for the public revenue, to be remitted to the emperor's treasure. These people well understood the pacha's intention, and took upon themselves the coining of money, which they considerably adulterated; so that upon an hundred drams, they had a profit of thirty *nisf**; since that time the adulteration of money has been constantly increasing. Under his government, troops of robbers infested the environs of Caïro; they came as far as the mosque Alabyadh, where my great grandfather lived; the virtue and sanctity of that respectable man attracted the protection of heaven, and the thieves did no injury. The pacha came on the morrow to visit that place, and ordered a wall to be built from the bridge Alhadjel to the mosque, to secure that place from all surprise. This wall remains to this day. Mahmoud Pacha was the last governor of Egypt appointed by Soliman. He took possession of his government in the month of Schawal 973, (May 1566). He came with a great retinue, received a considerable number of presents on his journey from Alexandria to Caïro. At his

* This word signifies *half*; it really means that the money which the Turks at present call *yaremlec*, which signifies the same thing in Turkish as *nisf* in Arabic, is a silver coin, which is equivalent to half a piafter, or grousche, that is, twenty paras, or one livre; 2s. 8d. French money.

arrival in that city, he found there emir Mohammed ben Omar, intendant of Saïd, or the Upper Egypt, who came to meet him with a large barque, loaded with presents of all sorts, and 50000 pieces of gold. He crucified him, and took possession of all he had brought; he put to death in the same manner the cadee Youffouf Alebadi, because Youffouf had not met him with the other emirs, and had not given him presents some years before, when he passed through Egypt in his way to Yemen. Many other distinguished personages fell also victims to his cruelty. He pointed out to the Soubaschi, an officer, by motion of his hand, and without speaking of the persons he doomed to death, and the kind of torments by which he would have them destroyed. Yet this pacha was more generous and magnificent in his attendance, than any of his predecessors, or ministers of his age. He was always richly clothed, and only vessels of gold and silver were brought to his table.

The emir Ibrahim, who was then desterdar, (treasurer) and who had been nominated by the sultan to preside at the religious ceremony on mount Araphat, dying the 3d of redgeb 974, (the 14th of January, 1567,) the pacha was much rejoiced at it: he vented the whole of his animosity against him; but before the end of the year, he underwent the punishment due to his injustice. He had no sooner heard of the death of Ibrahim, then he sent some people on his part to take possession of his house and slaves. Ibrahim had amassed immense

menſe riches and many precious things. Mahmoud at firſt ſeized upon all he found, which he cauſed to be ſold at a low price ; he afterwards tortured the ſlaves to oblige them to diſcover the treaſures which Ibrahim had ſecreted in his houſe. The chief of the ſlaves revealed, and Mahmoud ſeized upon it; he found there an hundred thouſand pieces of gold, which he made uſe of to form the *treasure** which he was obliged to ſend to Conſtantinople.

He entrusted Mohradbeg, one of his ſlaves, with the carriage of the treaſure. This perſon arrived afterwards to the dignity of grand vizier, under the reign of Ahmed, and at the ſame time ſent rich preſents to the ſultan and his miniſters. While he waited with a flattering hope the effect of his preſents, and the protection of the great, the decrees of Providence were accompliſhed. Wednesday, Dgioumadi Loula, 975, (5th December, 1567), as he appeared in public with his train, as he was accuſtomed to do every Wednesday, an aſſaſſin, poſted, according to the recital of ſome credible perſons, by the emirs Hamzab^{beg}~~ay~~ and Mamai-beg, mortally wounded him by a ſhot from a muſquet, in a narrow ſtreet between the walls of two gardens. The aſſaſſin had made a hole in one of the walls, through which he levelled his muſquet, loaded with ball, without being ſeen by any one ;

* By this word is meant the ſum which the ſultan annually receives from the impoſt of the provinces and other public revenues. It is ſent every year by the pacha, under the conduct of an officer charged to convey it to the general treaſury of the empire.

he applied his lighted match, fired at the pacha, and struck him under the left shoulder; he left his piece in the hole he had placed it, went out in the garden, and mixed among the croud, so that they could not discover him. The pacha, after having endeavoured in vain to continue his way, was obliged to alight from his horse; they spread on the ground some silk carpets on which they placed him, and the emirs continued with him. The slaves entered the garden, saw the musquet which the assassin had left, and no one there, except two men who were at work, whose heads they cut off, although they were entirely innocent, and had heard the report without seeing from what part it came. They caused a covered litter to be brought for the pacha, who was carried back to his house in the greatest torments. The news of this spread terror through the city, and the shops were shut up; but tranquillity was soon restored by an amnesty which was published. Nevertheless the emirs and sandjacs patrolled the city all night lest the pacha should molest any person on account of this assassination. Mahmoud having made his will, the cadée, the defterdar, the emirs, and the sandjacs retired, and he removed to his apartment, where he died surrounded by his women. His tomb is in the square of Romeilé.

Beglerbegis

*Beglerbegs of Egypt under the reign of Sultan Selim,
son of Sultan Solëiman.*

Selim II. having ascended the throne in the month of Rebi-alakher 974, held it during eight years, one month, and fourteen days, and died the 17th of Ramadhan 982*.

Sinan Pacha was the first governor that Selim gave to Egypt. He passed from the government of Aleppo to this province, where he remained but nine days, having been destined by the sultan to the command of the army he had sent into Arabia Felix. When he had made all the necessary preparations for this expedition, he departed the 4th of Schawal, 976, (23d of March, 1569), accompanied by Hamzabeg, Mamaïbeg, and several others of the principal emirs of Egypt. He conducted this expedition with much prudence and skill, and after having been successful in the conquest of Yemen, he returned in triumph to Egypt. During his absence Egypt had for governor Djerkes Escander Pacha. He freed the poor, sick, lame, and the greatest part of men of letters from taxes. He was reputed a learned man himself. Sinan Pacha, on his return from his expedition, resumed his government the first of Saphar, 979, and possessed it till the month of Dhoulhadja, 980. This pacha undertook important works: he caused the canal of Alexandria to be dug again and repaired; he also built a mosque, a market, and baths, in

* These dates are not exact, and contradict one another.

that city; and a great mosque, a market, store-houses for merchandize, and caravanferas for travellers at Boulac. He also erected a monastery (Tekkié) on the road of Romania, in a retired place, to accommodate travellers with subsistence. Hossain Pacha succeeded Sinan. He possessed excellent qualities; was affectionate to men of learning, of a mild and modest disposition, and highly averse to all cruelty. In his time troops of robbers spread themselves abroad in great numbers and committed many depredations.

Beglerbegs of Egypt under the reign of Sultan Morad, (Amurath III.) son of Sultan Selim.

Morad ascended the throne the 10th of Ramadhan, 982, (24th of December, 1574,) and died the 6th of Ramadhan, 1003, (15th of May, 1595). The first governor of Egypt, under the reign of Sultan Morad, was Messih Pacha Alkhadem, who was khazendar (grand treasurer) in the time of Sultan Selim. This pacha was of a ferocious and cruel character. It is said, that during the continuance of his government, which lasted five years, he put to death about 10,000 persons, but they were mostly malefactors, for the robbers had multiplied extremely under the government of Hossain Pacha. Messih almost totally exterminated them, and from that time to the present, there has been known a very small number of robbers and thieves. He never accepted presents from any one, which rendered Egypt very flourishing. He built a great mosque

mosque at the gate of the suburb Karafa, in favour of Scheikz Zoureddin Alkarafi, and gave to him and his posterity the superintendence of this mosque, and the free disposal of the revenue with which he had endowed it. He ordered that the catebs (clerks) should henceforth begin the firmams and decrees with this formule: "Praise to God; health and peace to our prophet, to his descendants, and to all his companions; maintain peace and union among your brethren, and fear God; perhaps one day you will be converted unto him. Servants of God, strive faithfully to fulfil the precepts of his religion, and conform your actions to his laws."

Hassan Pacha Alkhadem succeeded Messih. He had been before Khazendar to Sultan Morad. He governed Egypt during two years, and was wholly employed in amassing wealth by every method. He revived the custom of receiving presents, which his predecessor had abolished. When he quitted his government, he went out from Cairo by the quarter of the tombs, not daring to shew himself to the people. The sultan, informed of his tyranny, caused him to be strangled on his return to Romania.

The vizir Ibrahim Pacha was appointed in his room. He visited all the departments of Egypt, even to the utmost extremity of Saïd: he came to the place called *the Wells of the Emeralds*, (Bir Elzumrurud) whence he drew a great quantity of them. When he arrived at Cairo he began to make strict

enquiries into Hassan Pacha's extortion, and appointed an officer to receive the complaints which the sandjacs had to present against him. These informations were taken in the mosque of Faradi ben Barkouk. They began the 10th of Redjeb, 991, (30th of July, 1583, new style,) and lasted to the end of Ramadhan of the same year, (Oct. 1583). There was not a man in office, farmer or receiver of the public revenues, or an Arabian Scheikh, from whom Hassan had not exacted considerable sums. They also enquired into the quantity of grain he had taken from the public granaries, and it was found that he had sold 100,442 ardabs. These informations were reduced to writing, with the proof that had been produced, and the whole were transmitted to the emperor, who confiscated all the effects of Hassan Ibrahim, and nominated Sinan Pacha, who was desterdar, (treasurer) to succeed him. The latter held this government during a year and an half. He took flight and quitted Egypt, when Awis Pacha, who succeeded him, was sent to examine into his conduct. Awis was a severe man, and of strict probity. He was first cadi, afterwards desterdar of the province of Romania, and was promoted from that place to be Beglerbeg of Egypt. Having proposed to reform the discipline of the troops, they revolted against him, and attacked him in the divan, the 2d of Schawal, 997, (14th of August, 1589). The soldiers exposed him to all kind of insults: they entered into his harem, and took what they found most valuable,

valuable; among other moveables, a grand clock which pointed out the days. Awis escaped, but three of his attendants were killed. The soldiers entered likewise the house of the cadhilasker, and killed Othman, commander of the tichaoufcks. They seized two cadies, and kept them prisoners at Kharafta; the next day they cut off their heads. Several emirs took flight and concealed themselves. The rebels plundered the merchants stores, and took the most precious merchandizes and stuffs. They caused a prohibition to be published against the Arabians having any white slaves, and against the Jews having girls for slaves; they even enjoined them to send all they then had of them within three days, under pain of death. Thus armed they entered by troops into the houses of the great, carrying off what they chose. In vain did the defterdar and several other emirs endeavour to bring them back to duty. Awis was obliged to send to the cadî an order to grant them all they should ask. This did but augment their insolence; they seized the children of the pacha as hostages, in order to secure the execution of what they required. The pacha consented to all their demands. From that time they never ceased, from time to time, to renew their excesses, to the time of Mohammed Pacha, who remedied these abuses, when he was nominated governor of Egypt under the reign of Ahmed.

Ahmed Pacha Hasedh Alkhadem succeeded Awis; he had been previously beglerbeg of Cy-

prus. He had great talents for government, and loved the learned and the poor. He established a distribution* of water in favour of the poor pilgrims to Mecca; he constructed at Boulac two storehouses, (okals) with caravanferas and houses, and set apart a fourth of their revenue for this distribution. He was the last governor of Egypt, nominated by Sultan Mohrad.

Beglerbegs of Egypt under the reign of Sultan Mohammed, (Mohamet III.) son of Sultan Morad.

Mohammed was crowned the 17th of Ramadhan, 1003, (26th of May, 1595,) and died on Saturday, 16th of Redgeb, 1012, (20th of Dec. 1603,) after a reign of eight years and eleven months.

He named for governor of Egypt Kourd Pacha, who made himself beloved by his mildness, and the liberality with which he distributed abundant assistance to men of letters, to the poor, and to all those who had recourse to his beneficence.

The Seïd Mohammed Pacha, who succeeded him, did not less distinguish himself by the wisdom of his government, and by the protection he granted to the learned. He re-established the mosque Djame Alazhar, and founded a daily distribution of lentils, in favour of the indigent; he also repaired the Meschhed Hoffaïni. My father held in his pre-

* The Arabian word is Sehabat; perhaps it is a distribution of water for the necessitous pilgrims. The author speaks, lower down, of a like foundation, which consisted in a supply of water of forty loads of camels; and implies the same expression.

fence a public lecture, of which he went out well satisfied. It was also under the government of this pacha, that my father gave, on my account, a great feast, for which he expended five thousand pieces of gold, without reckoning the distribution of presents of all kinds, the value of which amounts to a sum equally considerable.

The beglerbeg came and passed three days in a house of my father, scheik Aboulforour, which was situated near Berketarrothli, and known by the name of Schadherwan. During his residence there, he gave considerable presents to the people, and to the musicians who repaired thither from all parts. The feast continued forty days, and during that time a great part of the inhabitants took no rest. Mohammed Pacha found himself exposed to a great danger, from which God delivered him. In the beginning of the month of Radjib, 1006, many bodies of troops assembled from different parts of Egypt, and repaired to Caïro. Mohammed being then at his country house at Djizé, according to the custom of former beglerbegs. He had with him a part of the troops of Caïro, and many emirs and sandjacs. When he returned to Caïro, although he was surrounded with emirs who accompanied him, some malcontents fired at him: the janissaries abandoned him, and it was with difficulty he saved himself. The rebels kept him besieged all that day, in the house to which he had retired. He asked them what they wanted: they required that several officers should be delivered up to them, of

which number was Daii Mohammed, one of the principal emirs, who gave away considerable alms; the emir Djelad Sembaschi, and the emir Khedher, caschef (governor) of Mansoura. The pacha demanded a parly of three days. They answered, *God shall judge between us and our master Mohammed Pacha*; and they addressed themselves to the cadalisker, Abdairawouf Arabzadé, who consented to receive their complaints, and examine their demands. While this passed, a violent wind arose, which raised so great a cloud of dust that the air was darkened. Mohammed availed himself of this circumstance to escape under favour of the obscurity: he hastened to mount his horse, and entered the castle, the gate of which was immediately shut. He quitted his horse, and was going to enter his apartment, when his foot being engaged in the extremity of his castan, he fell on the ground. All this was a miraculous protection of the prophet from whom he drew his origin; for in that moment a man, who had entered the castle with him, fired at him, and he escaped only by the motion occasioned by treading on his robe. Hassan Pacha Alfekrani, who was beglerbeg of the army, and biribeg, emir elhadj, (conductor of the caravan) presented themselves to the mutineers, and remonstrated with them, which produce no other effect but to increase their insolence. They proceeded to the house of the emir Dali, and on their way, meeting with the emir, Mohammed Beg, who was going up to the castle, and who reproached them
with

with their revolts, and exhorted them to return to their obedience, they cut off his head, saying, *You are also one of those whose death we required.* Mohammed Dali had secured himself in his house near the bridge *Alfa* with some brave men: the mutineers attacked him there and forced the gate. The emir retired into the interior part of his house, and shut himself up in a very fine kiosk. Some soldiers mounted on the minaret of an adjoining college which commanded the kiosk and fired at him; he was killed by a ball which struck him on the head. The seditious party entered his house, and cut off his head, which they suspended at the gate *Zuweila*, and plundered the moveables, arms, precious stones, and horses; the loss was estimated at thirty thousand pieces of gold. The other emirs, whose death they had demanded, fled secretly into the province of *Romania*. They then attacked the Arabs, killed and plundered all those who they found dressed in the manner of the Greeks. The tumult was at last appeased, but the troops preserved the same spirit of insolence and mutiny, which continued during the government of *Seid Mohammed Pacha*.

His successor was the vizir *Rhedher Pacha*, who had been *beglerbeg* of *Bagdad*. He wanted, at the beginning of his government, to take away the distribution of corn which the learned received, under a pretence that the greater part of those who had a share of these distributions were merchants, and not men of letters. My father remonstrated with him on this subject, and promised to furnish him

him with an account of the learned who received these distributions. He accepted this proposal, and charged the mocatadji (receiver general of the revenue of the customs) to regulate this affair with my father, but my father took care to make his court to him, and obtained of him that he would make no alteration in the ordinary distributions. The first day of the week, 20th of Ramadhan, 1009, (26th of March, 1600), the troops having the cada-lasker at their head, went up to the divan and demanded the ketkhoda (or lieutenant) and some other officers. They required of the cadî that he should consent to examine their complaints on the subject of provisions and other grievances. The ketkhoda was then with the beglerbeg; he attempted to escape, but the soldiers attacked him near the quarter of the Tschoufch, and cut off his head. They treated many other emirs in the same manner. On the next day the beglerbeg granted their demands, and the tumult was appeased.

The vizir Ali Pacha, who was selahdar, (an officer who carries the sultan's arms) was nominated in the room of Khedher. He was a brave, generous, and equitable man: he treated his troops with goodness, but he delighted in spilling blood. He never appeared in public with his retinue, without killing at least ten persons, in the blood of whom he passed with his horse. There was a great famine during his time in Egypt. A measure of corn, called wabya, was sold as high as thirty-six nesfs:

this

this scarcity was attended with a dreadful plague, such as has never been experienced before, if we except those that desolated Egypt in the time of the beglerbeg's, Djafar Pacha and Macfoud Pacha, of whom we shall speak afterwards. This mortality extended over all Egypt. A man, who lived near the gate Elnafr, told me that he had seen above three hundred bodies carried in one day to the *meslat*, (chapel) situated near that place. We may conjecture from thence how many there must have been brought into the other chapels and mosques. The pacha prohibited the carrying in public the bodies of those who died. Ali Pacha, leaving Caïro, appointed for caïmacan, (lieutenant) the emir Biribeg. This emir dying, the sandjacs elected in his room the emir Othmanbeg, who exercised the functions of caïmacan till the arrival of the beglerbeg Ibrahim Pacha.

Beglerbegs of Egypt under the reign of the Sultan Ahmed, (Achmet I.) son of Sultan Mohammed.

Ahmed ascended the throne, Sunday the 17th of Rhedjeb, 1012, (21st of December, 1603,) and died, Wednesday, 23d of Dhoulcaada, 1026, (23d of November, 1617).

The first governor of Egypt, named by this sultan, was the vizir Ibrahim Pacha, who was killed by the troops, as we are going to relate. This pacha had formed the design to repress the insolent demands of the troops, but his project proved abortive. Friday the last of Rebialakher, 1013, (24th of Sep-

September, 1644,) he quitted Caïro, and repaired to Bouilac with a numerous retinue. He embarked at this place, and went down to Schebra, near the bridge built over the canal of Aboulmenedja. The troops having heard that the pacha had abandoned Caïro, met in the suburb of Kharafta, obliging themselves by oath to put him to death. The next day, early in the morning, they departed for Bouilac, in order to attack him on his return, and having heard that he then was in the castle of Doulab, near the bridge Aboulmenedja, they resolved to go in search of him. The pacha was informed of their proceedings, and the sandjacs advised him to embark quickly for Bouilac, before the rebels would have arrived at Doulab, but he did not embrace this counsel. He had with him the cadhihasker, Mustapha Effindi Garmizadé, Othmanbeg who discharged the office of caïmacan after the retreat of Ali Pacha, the emir Bayazidbeg, and several other begs and cadis, with a guard of tischeaouschs, and of mutefarrakas *. The rebels being arrived, surrounded the castle, and fifteen spahis entered it sword in hand. *What do you want?* said Ibrahim, on seeing them coming in; *Have not I given you your pay, and the usual gratifications for my installation?* *We ask nothing,* answered they; *we come but to take away thy life.* Ibrahim saw that he could not avoid death; he arose; one of the soldiers struck him with his sword on the face, and the others falling upon him in the

* They are the two first corps of the spahis, or cavalry.

same instant, he was pierced with wounds, and his head cut off. The emir Mohammed ben Khafrat, who reproached them for their unworthy conduct, underwent the same fate. In the mean while an innumerable army surrounded the castle: the murderers descended; and shewed their comrades the heads of Ibrahim and Mohammed. The emirs and cadies, who were in the castle, took flight. The army returned to Cairo, and after having carried in triumph, into all the quarters of the town, the head of pacha and that of emir Mohammed, the soldiers suspended them at the gate of Zuveila, like those of people of the vilest condition. The same day the army bestowed the command on Othmanbeg, and on his refusal on cadhiasker Mustapha Effendi. The two heads were buried. The whole town was in consternation and affright, and they generally bewailed the unfortunate fate of Ibrahim, who had formed the project of delivering the people from the vexations and insolence of the soldiery.

After the murder of Ibrahim, the vizir Mohammed Pacha Alkhurdji Alkhadem was nominated governor of Egypt. He conducted himself with much wisdom toward the troops, and he succeeded in ridding himself of the great number of those mutineers he wished to punish. When he arrived at Cairo, he received orders from the Porte, addressed to all the sandjacs, and to the army, which were brought to him by the djuschneghirbaschi, (great cup-bearer); the object of these orders were

to enquire into what had given room to the demand of the troops; into the cause of the death of Ibrahim, and after the authors of this wicked attempt. The sandjacs met in the place called *Caraméidan*, with the greatest part of the army. The pacha was in the castle; he sent for some sandjacs, but they refused to obey, unless they should be first acquainted with the subject which they were called for. This contest gave room to several other messages, and at last the emirs, who had been charged with the orders to the sandjacs, told them, *There are among you profligates who deserve punishment; if you wish to obtain pardon for your crime, give up the names of the guilty.* The sandjacs accepted the proposition, and they wrote down the names of the most mutinous. The *bouluc agas*, (commanders of different military corps) came to take those whose names had been given; the most part were seized, and had their heads cut off in the *divan*. Mohammed Pacha continued dispatching by such means the most insolent; he put to death about two hundred. If he had continued longer in this post he would have totally exterminated them; but he was only seven months and eight days in his government. In his whole conduct he had no view but that of the public welfare, and the relief of the subjects.

The vizir Hassan Pacha succeeded him; he always carefully spared the troops, on account of his son, who was *beglerbeg* of the army; all was quiet under his government. Hassan had for successor
the

the vizir Mohammed Pacha, who entered in possession of that place the 7th of Safar, 1016, (3d of Jan. 1607,) and held it four years, four months, and twelve days. This pacha was a prudent and able man; he succeeded in re-establishing peace and tranquillity in the whole province, and he delivered the people from the vexations to which they had been so long victims. The very first day he held a divan, which was the 15th of Safar, (11th of June, 1607,) he assembled the sandjacs, the tschaoufchs, the mutefarrakas, and the bouluc agas; and asked them whether they had been present at the murder of the pacha Ibrahim. As the others remained silent, the tschaoufchs, and the mutefarrakas, took the word, and said, in shewing the sandjacs, *it is from those that the whole evil originally springs*. It was ordered at last, that all those who had any share in Ibrahim's murder should appear, and that the beglerbeg would decide about the punishment which they merited, as well as all those who had extorted contributions. He sent in consequence the necessary orders to all the rifs, or departments of the Lower Egypt, and the exactions were stopped for some time. But towards the end of Schawal, of the following year, (January, 1609,) all the troops which were in the rifs assembled in a town of Santon* Seïd Ahmed Albedawi, and swore

* There is in the original, aref billah teâla; that is to say, he that knows God; thus the Mussulmans call their contemplative persons; they call contemplation, *marifat*, or *marifat allah*, the knowledge of God.

not to suffer the abolition of the contributions, and to put to death the emir Mustapha, ketkhoda of the tschaoufchs, and several sandjacs. The rebels chose themselves a chief, whom they proclaimed sultan; they nominated vizirs, and distributed the departments of Egypt among themselves, assigning to each the district where he was to give scope to his robberies. They then dissolved, and quitting the town of Seïd Ahmed, spread themselves in several districts, and exacted from the inhabitants such contributions as they were pleased to set on them. They caused one hundred sheep, and a great number of oxen and buffaloes, to be killed for themselves in every town, and if they met with any soldier, they constrained him to follow them: they continued this robbery as far as Kalyoub.

When Mohammed Pacha was informed of the commotions, he hastened to assemble the sandjacs, the tschaoufchs, and the mutefarrakas, and asked them, if they were disposed to obey the orders of the sultan; they declared their submission. *My intention*, said the pacha to them, *is to make you take up arms against those rebels of whose sedition you have heard.* They answered him, that they would not hesitate to execute his orders. Mohammed then put a castan on Mustafabeg, who was ketkhoda of the tschaoufchs; he caused the standard to be displayed, and erected it in Caramaidan. Friday following, he caused to be published, that all those who were faithful to God and the prophet, and disposed to obey the imperial orders, should repair to the

the

the standard, and remain there the following night. The whole army assembled, and the next day they marched with the ferdar, (general); they had six cannons with them. All the tschaoufschs and the mutefarrakas repaired with a part of the janisaries, of the Azabs (second corps of infantry), and of the lawends, (volunteers who receives pay). At the first news of the revolt, the pacha had summoned all the scheiks of the Arabians. They repaired in a short time to him, and departed with the sandjacs who were in the city, Saturday, 9th of Dhoulcaada, 1017, (14th of February, 1609). The army encamped the following night at Birket-elhadj, and the next day they came up with the rebels at Khankah; a battle ensued, and they made use of their cannon and the whole artillery. When the rebels came to know the forces of the enemy, they were struck with terror. Some emirs availing themselves of their panic, summoned them to surrender. They all consented, and the ferdar began with requiring that their bouluc-baschis, (commanders) should be delivered up: they all surrendered at discretion, and were put into irons: they were twenty-three in number. One of the rebels having attempted to kill the ferdar, was prevented by the janisaries who cut him to pieces. The ferdar next ordered to be brought before him all those who served in the army of the rebels, though they were not of the body of the militia, nor did receive pay; they were about fifty, and he ordered their heads to be struck off. The whole army of the

rebels surrendered themselves by degrees under the standard, and were all disarmed. Monday following the serdar entered the city with his army and went to the pacha. The bouluc-baschis and fifty of the leading men of the army were put to death by order of Mohammed. No amnesty was granted to the rebels, and, as they were found, they were put to death. A great number perished by this means. Those who took to flight, fell into the hands of the Arabians, who killed and stripped them, and those who concealed themselves were taken and punished with death, as soon as they were discovered, and the faubaschi or the kelkhoda of the tschaoufchs acquainted with it. Thursday, the 14th of the same month, (19th of Feb. 1609), the cadhilsker Mohammed Effidi Bakhlizadé advised the pacha not to put to death the rest of the rebels, but to send them into Arabia Felix. This counsel was approved by the pacha; he imprisoned all those who were arrested, and, towards the end of this month, he caused to be transported about three hundred, loaded with chains, upon camels, as far as Suez, where they were put on board a vessel, which carried them to the coasts of Yemen. Such is in abridgement the history of this revolution. The contributions we have spoken of were called *tolbat*. These banditti addressed themselves to a caschef, and demanded of him an ordnance on such or such a village, for the contributions they wanted to exact. The caschef gave them an ordnance, setting forth, that such a person asked and obtained
a con-

a condemnation against such an inhabitant of the village whom they had described. They obliged him to write all they wanted, and for the most part what they acquired by this means was without reason. I was possessed of an estate at Menouk-head, that might have been worth a hundred thousand nisfs; I was taxed this year, with the inhabitants, two hundred thousand nisfs.

Mohammed Pacha, freed of this affair, carried his attention to other objects. He occupied himself about the pensions and salaries, and examined the rights of those who enjoyed them. He preserved all those which he found grounded on an ancient possession, or a valid title, and assigned the payment thereof on the revenue of the fund of the divan. He imposed, in proportion, new taxes on such places as they had been before levied on. These augmentations amounted to about 800 purses*. He would not permit the custom of the time of the Circassian Mamelucs to be followed any longer, but those that had been established in the year 932, under the reign of the Ottoman sultants. He afterwards settled the taxes of each department with the greatest equity, and took care to exact from every district such articles as they could most conveniently furnish. He observed the same method with respect to the distribution of the public works both summer and winter, and for all the ordinary contributions. If a department was loaded with an impost it could not satisfy, on ac-

* *Purse* is a sum of 500 piasters.

count of its poverty, and the smallness of its revenues, he discharged it, and levied it on some wealthier district, whose charges were easy, and which could bear an augmentation. He caused registers to be kept of all those regulations, and sent copies into the different parts of the province. He distributed pay to the soldiers, and to all those who had been accustomed to receive it, on the 28th of each month: he did not examine the rights of those who received them, and he made no innovation in this respect.

Mohammed Pacha was trusted with the administration of a most considerable legacy, which consisted in the revenues of several villages, and of some storehouses (okals) situated at Raschid, and in other towns: the annual revenue of these funds was more than 20,000 pieces of gold. He employed a part in establishing a foundation for the pilgrims of Mecca, which consisted in furnishing annually to the caravan, as much water as forty camels could carry.

He founded also several other places for the reading of the Alcoran, and made other similar establishments in Egypt. What remained of the revenue, after the discharging of these foundations, was sent into Romania, to be employed in pious works. The sultan Othman afterwards changed these dispositions. Hossain Pacha, beglerbeg of Egypt, sold, by his order, the funds of those legacies, and collected the money for them, which he sent into Romania.

When

When Mohammed Pacha quitted Egypt, he enjoyed an honour which no beglerbeg of that province ever had after him; he left it without being divested of his dignity, and nominated for caïmacam, Mohammed beg hadji testerdar, who became afterwards beglerbeg of Yemen. Mohammed Pacha remained thirty days at Adelia, without meddling with the government, though he was not deprived of it, and he continued that whole time to distribute the pay, and other ordinary recompences.

His successor was Mohammed Pacha Alfoufi, who protected the learned, and all good subjects, and conducted himself in his post with perfect integrity. He never accepted any present, nor did he commit any injustice. If there was sometimes cause to complain of his government, it was the fault of Youfferef, his confident, to whom he gave up the exercise of his authority, from the good opinion he had formed of his conduct and punctuality. In the time of this pacha, A. H. 1022, a body of troops, of ten thousand men, sent by the grand vizir into Yemen to appease some troubles, having entered Egypt, the pacha received orders from the port to supply them with the pay necessary for the execution of the commission with which they were charged, and to conduct them into Yemen. Mohammed ordered they should receive their pay, and prepare themselves to depart immediately for the place of their destination. The troops replied, that they were sent into Egypt to

remain there, and refused to obey. They quartered themselves in the magazines at the gate Efsnafr, and in the houses of the inhabitants, after having driven out those that occupied them. Every step the pacha took to bring them to obedience was useless. They nailed up the gates of the quarter where they were cantoned, shut the gate Efsnafr, and placed artillery upon it. The pacha caused the tischeaufchs, the mutefarrakas, and other military bodies, with cannon to advance against them, and they began to besiege them. The emir Abedinbeg advanced to the gate Efsnafr, and entered with his attendants by some walls, the entrance to which was in the college named *Medressa Djanbelatia*. The rebels, alarmed at the danger they were now in, were in haste to submit. The pacha distributed their pay to them, which amounted to more than twenty-four purses, and they went out of the city. When Mohammed was deposed he retired to Adelia, and distributed in corn and money very considerable sums; these distributions, according to the report of a cateb, amounted to 10,000 othmanis a day, and 400 ardabs of corn per month. He did not quit Adelia until his successor had arrived at Alexandria.

The pacha Ahmed had been testerdar in Egypt; when he made his entry into Cairo, with a train, the magnificence of which surpassed all that had been hitherto seen, a stone, thrown from the inner part of a house, fell on his head, and broke one of the plumes of his turban. I myself saw the stone fall;

fall; it weighed five pounds. Some officers entered the house but found no one there. After the pacha was arrived at the castle, inquiries were made, and the culprit discovered: it was Khodjah Ibrahim Almanfourî, my brother's son. He confessed his crime, and was crucified in the very place he had committed it.

The first day Ahmed held the divan, he ordered the mocatadies, (receivers-general of the customs) and the catebs, to prepare a state of all the distributions made by his predecessor, in corn, money, or otherwise. He afterwards made strict inquiries respecting him, and found that he was indebted to the treasury one hundred purses. He sent the proceedings and proofs to the Porte; but I am ignorant if this affair has been carried further. In the month of Moharran, 1025, (January, 1616,) Ahmed received orders to send a thousand men of the troops of Egypt to march against the Persians. He dispatched them under the command of Salitbeg, then emir-elhadj, with so good discipline, that the people did not suffer any damage. On this, and three other the like occasions, he caused bodies of troops to march across the province, without the inhabitants being informed of their passage, whereas formerly a hundred men could not march through a canton without its being destroyed. This difference arose from the good discipline he caused to be observed, and the extraordinary distributions he made to the troops that he sent against the Persians. This is the order in which he caused them to march. At

the head were the lawendi (volunteers) of Suez, and Raïsa followed by the emir who had the superintendence of the arsenal; after them the djebedjis (corps of artillery) and their commander; then the azabs, the janifaries, the circassians, the tefekdjis, and the komlis, each corps followed by its aga. After these marched the ketkhodas of the sandjacs, each with the people and equipage of their masters; the emirs of the circassians, the sandjacs, and lastly, the serdar. The army being arrived at Khankah, the pacha repaired thither, and mounted a throne prepared for him. He had a large quantity of pieces of gold near him, the whole army defiled before him, and each soldier received a gratification proportionable to his wants; there was not any that did not receive at least twenty pieces of gold.

Ahmed Pacha, during the whole time of his government, which was two years, ten months, and twelve days, put to death only ten persons, and those after judicial proceedings, and for crimes deserving death. He never passed judgments but after the strictest examination, and after he had several times heard the defence of the party. When he was displaced, the troops raised an insurrection, because he had reduced their pay, and obliged him to restore all he had retained. The sandjacs did the same, nor did they permit him to depart until he had paid twelve sandouks*, which his predecessor,

* This word signifies *trunks*; it certainly means a determinate sum; perhaps it answers to what the Turks call *yok*, that is, the expence of a horse, and is equal to 20 purses, or 10,000 aspers.

they said, had left in the treasury. After he had satisfied their demand he departed from Cairo; but he made no distribution, as many of the former governors, and particularly Mohammed Pacha Al-foufi, had done.

Beglerbegs of Egypt under the reign of Sultan Mustapha I. son of Sultan Mohammed, and brother of Sultan Akmed.

Mustapha was crowned on Tuesday the 4th of Dhoulhaada, 1026, (24th of November, 1617,) and deposed on Wednesday the 3d of Rebialewel, (28th of February, 1616,) after a reign of three months and eight days.

He nominated the visir Mustapha Pacha Lefgheli as governor of Egypt. This pacha left the whole authority in the hands of his relations, who abused the easiness of his disposition to rule without controul. This conduct produced a general insurrection of the army, which openly appeared on Friday the 7th of Schawal, 1027, (28th of September, 1618). The cateb of the divan, the emir Ahmed Aladjemi, aga of the Komlis, and Mohammed Tschaoufch, were killed the same day by the seditious. On the next day the turdjeman, Youssouff, shared the same fate, and the principal emirs were constrained to fly. These seditious proceedings continued until the arrival of the visir Djar Pacha, successor of Mustapha.

Beglerbegs

Beglerbegs of Egypt under the reign of Sultan Aboul-nafs Othman, (Othman I.) son of Sultan Ahmed.

Othman was elected on Wednesday the 3d of Rebialewell, 1027, (28th of February, 1618,) at the sixth hour of the night after the deposition of Mustapha, and died Thursday the 8th of Redjeb, 1031, (19th of May, 1622).

The first governor of Egypt appointed by Othman, was the vizir Djafar Pacha, who had been formerly beglerbeg of Yemen. He enjoyed that post only five months and an half. This pacha was instructed in various sciences, and during his residence in Egypt he did nothing but what was for the advantage of the province committed to his care. Egypt, in his time, was afflicted with a terrible plague, which continued from the end of Rebialewell, 1028, (March, 1619,) to the end of Djoumadilakhora of the same year, (May, 1619). The greater number of those who perished by this malady were between fifteen and twenty-five years of age. They reckoned all those who died in the shops, and the number was six hundred thirty-five thousand, without reckoning those that died in other places; there were also a great number of persons of the first rank perished.

The vizir Mustapha Pacha succeeded Djafar. He put to death Mustaphabeg Albacdjeli, the principal author of the troubles that had been raised under the government of Pacha Mustapha Lefgheli. His death was a cause of great joy to the people,

people, but the pacha damped the joy by the vexations he exercised against many merchants. The complaint, occasioned by such conduct, reached the sultan, who deposed him, and substituted Hossain Pacha in his stead. This new governor suppressed all the innovations established by Mustapha, and required of him the payment of twenty sandouks, for the value of what he was indebted to the treasury. He afterwards summoned all the merchants who had any subject of complaint against Mustapha: it appeared by their depositions, and his own confession, that he had extorted from them thirty-three thousand grouschs*, and the proceedings were sent to the Porte.

Hossain Pacha was easy of access, and of a modest character, but his manners were rough and unpolished. After being sick many months, he gave on his recovery a feast to his children, which lasted many days, and during which time he ordered there should be public rejoicings. On this occasion he received an infinite number of presents of all sorts; carpets bordered with gold, horses, sugar, stuffs, and even money. He would not accept from any rich person, either oil, honey, or sheep; if they presented any of these things, he caused them to be sent back to the persons they came from, and took in the room of them, things of a greater value. In his time there was so extraordinary an

* This money takes its name from the German *grosch*; Menenski writes it *grasch*: it is a piece of silver, worth at present forty paras, or 3 livres, 11 sous, 4 desc. French money.

overflow of the Nile, that the Egyptians began to despair of seeing an end of the inundation. This occasioned a great scarcity, and a measure of corn (wabya) was worth thirty nesfs. The plague also made great ravages this year. Haffain Pacha having been displaced, the defterdar Haffan, who exercised the functions of caimacan, pretended that Hossain had confiscated a part of the revenues of the treasury, and that he carried away corn from the public granaries. Hossain found means to appease him, and obtained permission to depart, on paying twenty-five thousand pieces of gold only; he promised that the remainder should be paid by a Jew, named *Aben amel Albebar*, who was indebted to him an equal sum. This Jew had drawn upon himself the resentment of Hossain, by having used injurious words respecting him since he had been dismissed. When payment was demanded of the sum directed by Hossain, he answered that he had already paid him. This answer was communicated to Hossain, who pretended he did not owe any thing now, and yet consented to pay the twenty-five pieces of gold, on condition that the Jew should be delivered up to him, to treat him as he pleased. The proposition was accepted, and the Jew delivered to Hossain, who first made him pay the twenty-five thousand dinars, and put him to death in the most cruel manner; his death delivered the Mussulmans from his extortions and injustice. Hossain arrived in Romania, after the revolution of which I have given an account in my great
chron-

chronicle, under the reign of Othman*. All parties united to name him to the dignity of grand vizir. He re-established good order, bestowed the government of the provinces on men worthy of such employ, and put an end to all troubles.

The vizir Mohammed Pacha succeeded Hof-fain. The time of his government, which was only two months and an half, was agitated by great troubles, occasioned by the revolution that deprived Othman of the throne. However odious he might be to the Egyptians, he gave them no cause of complaint, doubtless by reason of the short duration of his government; as his former conduct in Romania will not permit us to think otherwise.

Beglerbegs of Egypt under the reign of Sultan Mustapha, after his restoration.

Mustapha was restored, Thursday the 8th of Redjeb, 1031, (19th of May, 1622,) at noon, and deposed again on Monday the 15th of Douлчаada, 1032, sultan Morad, son of sultan Ahmed, having been crowned in his place.

Mustapha appointed the vizir Ibrahim Pacha for governor of Egypt. During a year which he enjoyed that place, he succeeded by his dexterity and cunning in gaining the affections of the troops and the people. There was then a great scarcity, and the ardab of corn was worth five grouschs: it was not until his successor's time that the price of pro-

* This was doubtless the deposition of Othman, and the re-establishment of Mustapha.

visions was reduced. Ibrahim having been recalled, embarked to go down the Nile, instead of travelling by land, according to the custom of the Pacha. The catebs of the divan represented to Mustapha Pacha, who succeeded him, that he had not paid the accustomed contribution to the treasury. Mustapha dispatched some tschaoufchs to demand payment of it, but Ibrahim having attempted to kill them, they took flight, and returned to Caïro. Mustapha then sent the caïmacam, Salihberg, with orders to prevent his going out of the province, if he refused to pay ~~it~~^{him}; the emir, Salihberg, only overtook it at Alexandria. Ibrahim had already put his effects on board vessels; he answered the caïmacam, that if he owed any thing, he would pay the sultan, to whom he was then going, and at the same time he sailed away, and happily continued his voyage. When he arrived in Romania, Sultan Mustapha had just been again deposed, and Morad had been elected in his place; this affair therefore had no consequences.

Mustapha Pacha had taken possession of his government on Tuesday the 22d of Ramadhan, 1032, (20th of July, 1623). Ali Pacha was nominated to succeed him on Monday the 14th of Dhoul-hadja, (9th of October,) in the same year. When they heard at Caïro that Ali Pacha had been appointed beglerbeg of the province, and Issabeg, caïmacam, until the arrival of Ali, the mutesillim of the new governor, and Issabeg received Mustapha's

pha's caftan, and each returned to his own houfe. The troops affembled, and went to Iffabeg's houfe, to demand from him the extraordinary diftributions which it was customary for them to receive in the like circumftances. Iffabeg put them off until the morrow, and promifed to examine their demand in the divan. He communicated to them, at the fame time, the orders he had received to fecure the perfon of Pacha Muftapha, and to make an enquiry after all his effects, as it was fufpected he had appropriated to himfelf one of the hangings belonging to the feraglio, which had been loft. The army refufed to execute his orders, and answered, " We cannot feize the perfon of a vizir, nor make
" any enquiry after his effects; let them appoint
" fandjacs for guards, and let them conduct him
" to Alexandria. If Ali Pacha is already arrived
" in that city, they will put him into his hands; if
" they do not find him there, let them conduct
" him to Conftantinople." The whole army afterwards recited the firft furate of the Alcoran, as a folemn engagement not to depart from the refolution they had taken: this paffed the evening of Monday the 15th of Dhoulhadja, 1032. On the morrow, the fandjacs, and all the army, repaired to the divan, whither they caufed Muftapha to come and read the orders of the fultan; but the army began by demanding the ordinary diftribution. The * Mutefellim and Iffabeg contented themfelves

* The deputy of a new governor, fent into the province to carry his orders, and take poffeffion of the government.

with reproaching them, that they renewed the same demands every three months. "Why then," replied the soldiers, "does the sultan, our master, change the beglerbegs of the province every three months, to the great injury of the inhabitants? If he chuses to nominate every day new beglerbegs, we shall also demand every day contributions." The mutessellim answered that he could not satisfy them until the arrival of his master. The army answered him only by bad language, and both him and Issabeg would have been massacred in an instant, if they had not quickly escaped from the fury of the soldiers. Then they all cried aloud at the same time, *We will have no other governor than Mustapha; let Ali return to the place from whence he came*: they then took an oath to maintain their resolution, and to re-establish Mustapha in his dignity. Presents were given by Mustapha to the whole army, while he hastened to write to the sultan, asking of him a confirmation of what had been done. Many ulemas and cadies wrote also in his favour. Mean time they were informed of Ali's arrival at Alexandria, and they dispatched many ketkhodas to prevent the troops and the inhabitants from manifesting any disposition to receive him. Ali delivered to the deputies, letters to the emirs and the troops full of flattery, but the army, after having heard them read, directed the same deputies to carry him an answer, agreeable to their former resolution, and which was signed by the principal emirs. Ali, on receiving
this

this answer, became furious, caused one of the deputies to be seized, and loaded with chains. The troops who were in garrison in the citadel released him, overturned the tents of the pacha, and obliged him to re-imbark. A contrary wind having driven him back to port, the emir Mustapha directed the cannon of the citadel to be fired at him; from that time, the emir was surnamed *topotan*, that is, cannonier. The wind and weather would not permit him to return to Constantinople; he was obliged to put in at Berant, and to pass the winter there.

Mean time they did not receive any accounts from Constantinople; and reports, without foundation, began to cause alarms among the inhabitants of Cairo, when on Saturday, the 20th of Rebiakher, 1033, (16th of February, 1624,) a letter, brought by a pigeon, announced the arrival of the *schater-baschi*, (chief of the footmen) of Mustapha, charged by the sultan to carry him the castan, and the patents, to confirm him in the office of *beglerbeg*. When he arrived, all the *sandjacs* and principal officers of the regency repaired to the *divan*: Mustapha dressed himself in the castan, and the letters of the sultan were read, addressed to the army; in which he acquainted the troops, that in compliance with their desires, he had continued Mustapha in the government of the province.

In the year 1034, (1624,) there was an extraordinary overflow of the Nile. They began to apprehend that the waters would not retire soon enough to enable them to sow their land. The wa-

ters were risen to 24 dhirâ, but having fallen in a little time, they sowed, and their harvest was very abundant. Mustapha succeeded to the inheritances of a great number of rich people who died under his government. Even when there existed lawful heirs, he caused seals to be affixed on the effects of the deceased, until he had taken away what he pleased; in this manner he amassed immense riches. During his government a dreadful plague desolated Egypt; it began to appear on the first days of Rebialewell, 1035, (November 1625). In the beginning of Schaban, (April 1626,) the malady abated; but it did not intirely cease until the month of Ramadan. The alarm had never been so general: old men, upwards of an hundred years of age, were fearful of being attacked by the malady, and their fears were not without foundation, for this plague carried off persons of sixty years old and upwards; on the whole, more than three hundred thousand persons perished. In this situation the pacha suppressed all funeral ceremonies; the cries, the tears, and the attendants of the poor and the dervises, the drums and mourning habits, so that the dead bodies were carried through the streets without causing the least ceremony; these precautions diminished the consternation. The vizir Beïram Pacha having been named in the place of Mustapha, the sandjacs obliged him to stay until the arrival of his successor. Beïram, after having rendered an account of the state of the treasury, demanded of Mustapha the restitution of twenty sandoucs; Mustapha

tapha pretended he was not able to pay that sum, and caused his furniture, camels, horses, and mules to be sold: this was a deception to cover his great wealth: Baïram did not leave him in peace until he had paid the whole. The sultan Morad put him to death in the year 1037, for some action which was contrary to the law of God.

History of the Coronation, and of the reign of Sultan Morad, (Amurath IV.) son of Sultan Ahmed.

Morad was crowned the 15th of Dhoulcaada, 1032, (11th of September, 1623,) and died the 16th of Schawal, 1049, (9th of February, 1640,) after having filled the throne sixteen years, one month, and one day: this was the second of Ahmed's sons who wore the crown. Sultan Mustapha absolutely neglected the care of his affairs and of government, not to abandon himself to pleasures, but to give himself up intirely to his inclinations for the exercises of piety and devotions. The neighbouring people of the frontiers had made incursions into the territories of the empire, and had made themselves masters of many provinces. Under these circumstances, the vizirs and principal officers of the empire, with the troops, unanimously resolved to place the crown on the head of Morad. The troops, for this purpose, addressed themselves to the vizirs and moulas, and said to them, *The empire is threatened on all sides by the incursions of the neighbouring nations, and the revolt of Abaza Pacha; we wish to have an audience from the sultan, to make*

such representations to him as the circumstances require.

They all met at the gate of the seraglio*, on the 14th of Dhoulcaada, (10th of September, 1623,) and desired to speak with the sultan. They waited at the door till the hour for afternoon prayers, and those of the interior part of the seraglio durst not discharge their commission, because they apprehended the sultan might reply to the troops, that he had no pretensions to the crown, for this was his ordinary discourse. The musti Yahya Effendi at last presented himself; he declared to the troops that they must wait until the following day. The soldiers consented to withdraw, provided the musti and the vizirs would pass the night in the seraglio, for they feared least the sultana, mother of Mustapha, should make an attempt on the life of the children of Ahmet, as she was suspected to have planned the design. The troops retired upon this condition, and the musti remained in the seraglio with the vizirs. They all resolved to put the crown on the head of Morad, and they placed him upon the throne after the evening prayer. Early the next day the troops repaired to the gate of the seraglio, and again demanded of the musti and the vizirs that Sultan Mustapha should be produced, as they had promised them. The great vizir Ali Pacha entered the interior part of the seraglio, and returned a moment after, saying that the sultan was ill, and that it was impossible for

* We must recollect that it is the name of the palace, and not the apartment of the women.

him to appear. This answer put the troops into a rage, and they desired the musti to enter the seraglio, and to bring forth the sultan. The musti entered and returned almost in the same time, followed by Sultan Morad, who had the crown on his head, and was clothed with all his imperial ornaments, and directing his speech to the troops, he said to them, *Here is your sultan, you have no other than Morad.* The whole army exclaimed unanimously, *We wish no other; this was also our intention.* The troops swore fidelity to him, and he was proclaimed throughout the city. The army was ignorant of his having been crowned the day before. The new sultan persuaded the troops to promise him that they would not ask of him any extraordinary distributions or gratifications for his accession to the throne, considering the exhausted state to which the treasury had been reduced by the rapine of the grand vizirs, since the death of Sultan Othman; and that they would not solicit either the nomination or the dismissal of any vizir or officer, as they were accustomed to do with his uncle the Sultan Mustapha. All the troops engaged themselves solemnly, and their promise was reduced to writing, and deposited in the hands of Hossain Effendi, cadhilisker of Romania.

The reign of Sultan Morad was fatal to the enemies of the empire, and he knew how to render himself respectable to all the kings of the earth. His first care, as soon as he found himself settled on the throne, was to punish the murderers of his

brother Othman. He began by putting to death Dawoud Pacha and his son, because they had been the principal authors of that action; Hossain Pacha soon after shared the same fate, and all those among the troops, who had contributed to the death of Othman, received the punishment of their crime: the sultan put to death about 30,000 in this manner.

Mohammed Abaka Pacha, and Youssouf Pacha, who had been formerly invested with the office of emir-elhadj in Egypt, but who had been compelled to quit that province on account of the revolt of the troops, had united with them, and erected the standard of rebellion in the Diarbekr. These two rebels falling out, Youssouf was killed by Abaza. The latter was going to put himself at the head of his troops, when Morad sent an army commanded by the great vizir Khafrat Pacha against him. Abaza offered to submit; the great vizir accepted the propositions, and sent him to the sultan, who received him with honour, but soon after put him to death.

Morad having stripped Yahya Effendi of the dignity of mufti, he invested Hossain Effendi Akhizadeh with it, who behaved in that office very different from all those who had preceded him. The sultan having gone out of Constantinople, to take the diversion of hunting, when he was about three days journey from that city, the mufti began to plot an intrigue to place one of his brother's on the throne. They were four in number; Orkhan, Soleïman, Kaffem, and Ibrahim. The sultana-
mother

mother discovered the conspiracy, and dispatched a courier to her son, informing him of it. Morad immediately departed unattended, and hastened his return to Constantinople. His horse falling dead at Scutari, he continued his road on foot to the seraglio. He entered it at the side next the sea without being discovered. Immediately he mounted the throne, sent for the mufti, and, after some reproaches, killed him with his own hand, and caused his body to be thrown to the dogs; he then drove out some utemas who had taken part in the conspiracy. The sultan re-instated Yahya Effendi in his dignity of mufti, and apologized for the wrong that had been done him, saying, *Providence has suffered us to be exposed to so great a danger, to punish us for not having rendered you the justice you merited.* This mufti was learned, religious, and of perfect integrity. Morad was desirous to punish with death the Nakib-alaschraf, (chief of the sherifs, or descendants of the prophet); but the sultana, his mother, opposed him, and represented that this man drew his origin from the blood of Mohammed; and the sultan was contented with deposing him, and sent him to Mecca to exercise the functions of cadî; but he died at Djida, before he arrived at the place of his destination.

Under the reign of Morad the Hungarians revolted; and the sultan, informed of their rebellion, put himself at the head of his army and advanced to Adrianople, with a design to reduce them by force of arms. The Hungarians, acquainted with

his march, sent to ask peace of him. He at first made many difficulties, but at last granted it to them, exacting from them double the tribute which they had formerly been taxed with. The sultan then returned to Constantinople.

A short time after this transaction the army revolted on account of a favourite who enjoyed all the good graces and confidence of Morad; he was called Moussa Pacha. The discontent of the troops rose to such an excess that they slew Moussa. The sultan at first disguised his resentment, but he afterwards got rid of all those who had a part in this murder, and he put to death near 10,000 of them.

Khasraf Pacha was then vested with the dignity of grand vizir; he was a man of distinguished bravery. He marched against the Persians, and ravaged a great part of their country; he carried his arms as far as the territory of the royal city, when he returned to pass the winter at Arzerum. His enemies profited by his absence, to do him ill services with Morad; they succeeded in rendering him suspected, and Morad sent some capigis, (door-keepers) who killed him on his journey: Ahmed Pacha Hadsedh was nominated to succeed him, but the army revolted on account of the death of Khasraf. The troops threw all the blame on the new vizir, and demanded his execution, and the sultan could not appease them but by consenting to their request. His post was bestowed on Mohammed Pacha, formerly beglerbeg of Egypt, who repaired

repaired to the frontiers of Persia, and kept himself in garrison at Arzeroufn.

Morad resolving to march in person against the Persians, the imperial tent was erected at Scutari, the 15th of Ramadan, 1044, (the 4th of March, 1635). He marched from this place towards Erivan the 9th of Schawal, (the 28th of March, 1635), and laid siege to that city; and having made himself master of it in the month of Rebialewell, he put to the sword the greatest part of the Persians found there, and placed in it a garrison of twelve thousand men, commanded by Mortadhi Pacha. He afterwards took the road to Romania, and when he arrived in the Diarbeckr, he sent to Beïram Pacha, whom he had left at Constantinople to command in his absence, an order to put to death two of his brothers, Orkhan, surnamed *Abouyezid*, and Soleïman. This order was executed, but Soleïman defended himself valiantly: he killed sixteen persons, and mounted on the wall to save himself; but being thrown down, he broke his leg, was taken and strangled. The sultan had scarcely returned to Constantinople before Erivan was retaken by the Persians, and the garrison put to the sword: Mortadhi Pacha also perished there. This news excited a revolt in Constantinople.

Under the reign of Morad, on the 19th of Schaban, 1039, (3d of April, 1630), a torrent overflowed the banks, and the water entered into the city of Mecca, and penetrated even to the sacred temple. The violence of the torrent was so great
that

that almost the whole edifice was overthrown; the wall on the right side only remained. The Seïd Masfour, governor of Mecca, gave notice of this disastrous event to Mohammed Pacha, beglerbeg of Egypt, who acquainted the sultan with it. The sultan directed him to cause what had been destroyed to be repaired. Mohammed ordered wood, iron, marble, and all necessary materials to be transported thither. He sent masons and officers to superintend the work: the expence amounted to above 100,000 grouschs. This work was finished the following year: No prince since Abdolmelic ben Merwan, fourth kalif of the race of the Immiades, had the honour of re-establishing the house of God, and it was an especial glory for the Sultan Morad, and a signal favour granted to him by heaven.

Fakhreddin, son of Maan, was prince of the Druses, in Syria; this man, religious in his exterior, was in truth a wretch destitute of religion and honour. The sultans, predecessors of Morad, had in vain attempted to bring him to submission. Morad formed the resolution of stripping him of his power; for that purpose he ordered Koutchouk Ahmed, pacha of Syria, to take up arms against him, and to pursue him until he should be totally subdued. Ahmed assembled his troops, attacked Fakhreddin, killed a great number of Druses, and took twenty-one strong places which had formerly belonged to the Ismaeliens, (or assassins). Fakhreddin shut himself up in the citadel of Schakif; Ahmed besieged him,

him, and opened a subterraneous way to the foot of the mountain, on which the place was built. When Fakhreddin knew that the mine was nearly finished, he went off with his treasures, and the place of his retreat was never discovered. The pacha seized upon his children, and all he had left in that place, and sent the whole to the sultan. Thus finished in that province the power of the Druses, during the time of the kalif's Abbassides, which they always despaired of destroying. They were known in their origin by the name of *Batenians*. The territory, which had belonged to them, formed the government of a more respectable pacha than that of Syria; Tripoli in Syria was the capital of it.

The conduct which Sultan Morad held with respect to the spahis who had revolted, does honour to his government. His soldiers carried their insolence to an excess unheard of: they sent to demand considerable sums of the citizens of the first rank, which, if refused, they entered by force into the houses, and plundered them, debauching the women, massacring the masters if they could find them. They took the opportunity of a solemn feast, to send Alexandrian tapers into the principal houses of Constantinople to the first officers of the empire, and the grand vizir. It was a way of exacting from those to whom they sent them, some gratification to regale themselves during the feast. They pushed their insolence so far, as even to send them to the sultan: the sultan gave orders to give them

them a thousand pieces of gold. They refused to receive them, and sent them back to him, saying, "that it was not money they asked, but military rewards* in Natolia and Romania." They had no right to the benefits of those provinces. The sultan desired them to send to him some of their leaders, and that he would grant them what they desired: he described them by their names, and named above a thousand. It was a snare the sultan laid for them: they thought his promises to be sincere, and they repaired to the seraglio. When they had entered, the sultan ordered the gates to be shut, and caused them to be massacred by the guards of the seraglio.

There was not one that had escaped; and their bodies were thrown into the sea. The other spahis, above two thousand in number, fled into Vatulia: they chose themselves a chief, named *Roum Mohammed*, and began to commit hostilities. The sultan sent an army of janisaries against him, and they were all made prisoners: Roum Mohammed was also taken and sent to the sultan, who ordered him to be crucified. This event freed Constantinople from the robberies exercised by those insolent troops.

The sultan having resolved to undertake the siege of Bagdad, which the Persians had made themselves master of eighteen years before, collected

* The Arabian term is Khidmah, (pl. Khidem) which answers to what the Turks call *Temar*. They cannot be compared to any thing better than our siefs, or commanderies.

troops from all the provinces of the empire. He left Constantinople in the month of Schawal, 1047, (February 1658) and came to a place named *Basch-doulab*, near the citadel of Bagdad, within two musquet shot from Makam Alimam Abou Hanifa. He encamped there the 8th of Redjib, 1048, (15th of November, 1638). Morad disguised himself, and mounting one of his best horses, approached the place to see where it might be attacked with most advantage: he was not alarmed by the discharge of the cannon, and the whole artillery of the enemy. He found that the attack was impracticable on the side of Makam Alimam, and of Bab-alafwad, (the black gate) because they had fifteen years been employed in fortifying that part of the wall; and these fortifications had been constructed with the greatest solidity. He saw, on the contrary, that he could direct the attack with more success against the other parts, from Bab-alabyadh, (the white gate) because they had neglected to fortify it; persuaded that they had nothing to fear on that side. Morad ordered them to make the principal attack on that part of the walls: a body of janissaries entered the trenches, and after having fortified them, they planted cannons, and began to batter the citadel and the walls of the place. These dispositions were made before the opening of the covered way, called the *Rat-way*; for the Ottomans use to cut subterraneous ways to enter into the trenches, without being perceived by the enemy: this way was not dug until the 20th day of the siege.

siege. Mohammed Pacha, grand vizir, commanded the siege on the side of Bab-alabyadh, and of the great castle which is in the angle near his quarter, was that of the capoudan pacha (great admiral), the vizir Mustapha, Hossain Pacha, commandant of the troops of Natolia, had his quarters opposite to the Persian tower, to cover the army against any nocturnal sally; and Dervisch Mohammed, pacha of Diarbekr, was behind the intrenchment. The besieged caused fifty cannons to be fired against the intrenchment of the Ottoman army, and broke them in three different places: a great number of soldiers perished. The sultan then caused four cannons to be brought, of the largest size*, which Dervisch Mohammed planted on the intrenchment; and as soon as they were solidly placed, they were levelled against the artillery of the besieged, which battered the entrenchments from the Persian tower: they dismounted them, and the army of the besiegers were greatly relieved by it; for they were upon the point of seeing their battery overthrown. The siege continued in this state during twenty days. The Ottoman army began to make different works in form of terraces; the capoudan pacha erected one near the ditch, in the form of the vessel called *Ravin*, in Romania. They fired from the top of this terrace,

* The author remarks, that the Turks give them a name, which signifies, *those who eat no honey*. It is indeed the meaning of the word *bal-yemez*, which the Turks give to large pieces of casting. *cannon*.

in the interior part of the town; so that none of the besieged dared to appear. The artillery continued to batter the forts and the walls, and destroyed the most elevated parts; but it was impossible to hurt the lower part, as the Persians had thrown all the earth from the ditch against the walls of the citadel; so that it lay, as it were buried in the dust; and when the cannon fired upon them, they broke down only that part which the ball struck, because of this heap of earth. However, when the cannon we have spoken of, had been brought and planted near the ditch, they began to give the enemy uneasiness. The sultan's army began to fill up the ditch, but the enemy carried off the earth as it was thrown in. The capoudan pacha, to put a stop to this manœuvre, caused the intrenchments to be opened in several places, and posted troops there to guard the entrance, at the same time he marched a detachment into the ditch, who charged the enemy with vigour. The Persians were then constrained to keep behind the wall of the citadel, and the Ottoman troops remained in the ditch. Such had been ten days the state of the siege, when the sultan ordered a general assault. The whole army moved, and approached the place with a generous intrepidity: the very servants took up arms, as also a body of troops, which had formerly been deprived of their pay, and which had just been restored to them: it was these who had constructed the terrace: this happened in the morning. The grand vizir was at that instant entering

tering into the tent of the sultan, to ask him for orders. As he returned to the intrenchment, he heard a thundering noise of the cannons, and the whole artillery, and the cries of the army. He thought the enemy had made a sally: it was on the contrary two bodies of the Ottoman army, who mounted up to the assault of the fort. The grand vizir had not resolved to give the great assault that day, he retired therefore from the army. About five hundred men of the sultan's army were engaged with an equal number of the besieged in the citadel: they continued the combat from the hour of the evening prayer, till the next morning: there perished a great number of men on both sides. The Ottoman troops having obtained a reinforcement from the capoudan pacha's quarter, remained in possession of the ramparts: a body of troops from the quarter of Hossain Pacha, made themselves master of half the great citadel: Things remained in this position that day and the following night, without the combat being discontinued.

The Persians made altogether a violent effort, and charged the Ottoman army with fury, without being able to make them retreat an inch, for fear of being put to flight. The army of the sultan charged them in return, and drove them back to the citadel; but they made a new effort, and the combat was very obstinate. The grand vizir had been killed by a musket shot; the capoudan pacha was immediately appointed to succeed him. He entered the intrenchments, took a purse full of
pieces

pieces of gold, and exhorted the soldiers to give him proofs of their valour, by rushing altogether upon the walls and citadel: as any soldier was removed from the engagement, or having been wounded by a stone, returned to the camp, he gave him ten pieces of gold. This conduct animated the soldiers, and many seemed desirous of being hit by a stone, to intitle them to the same gratification: this caused the attack to be so violent, that the Persian troops were nearly being massacred. The besieged men apprehended, that if they should delay until the next day, they would obtain no quarter: at the hour of the evening's prayer, they gave notice from the tops of the minarets that they wished to capitulate. Immediately the whole artillery ceased firing, and every one remained in the place where he was until the next day. The morning being come Biknafschkhan went out of the citadel, and being shewn into the tent of the sultan, he kissed the ground before him. The sultan gave him a caftan adorned with furs and gilded feathers, and a khandjar. When the army saw that Biknafschkhan had obtained a capitulation, the Ottoman soldiers entered the citadel and mixed with the Persian troops: some Persians however took refuge in the city; the victorious army scattered itself in the towers and the walls, and erected the Ottoman banners. The sultan sent back Biknafschkhan, charging him to signify to the khans and the other officers, that all those who should leave the place that day, would be safe with their lives; but that after this time he

would not spare any. Several among them could not then resolve to take this part, and formed the project to get secretly out by the gate called *Babalafvad*; the sultan sent several times to summon them, and at each message they disputed among themselves, and came to blows: there were even some who having escaped unhurt from the fight, were wounded on this occasion. They came out at last, when they saw the impossibility of effecting their design, appeared before the sultan, and kissed the ground in his presence. The fight lasted longer within the town: the same day there perished about five thousand Persians, and two thousand left the town, and fled by the quarter of the Egyptian troops. Othman Aga, Ketkhoda of Selahdarbaschi (master of the horse) was in that quarter with his troops; also the pachas of Caramania and of Rarasch: they pursued the runaways. Othman Aga atchieved prodigies of valour: he received two wounds: a great number of soldiers of the Ottoman army were killed or wounded; the Egyptian troops fought with distinguished courage. None of the runaways escaped, they were all massacred to a man: this siege cost the Persians about 20,000 men. Fetahkhan one of the principal officers of the garrison, having drank some glasses of wine, began to weep; and being asked the cause of his tears, "How, (answered he) should I not bewail the
" loss of so fine an army? Never has one equal
" been seen. The flower of the troops of the
" schah were in garrison in this place, and yet it has
" been

“ been taken, and his troops put to the sword. Un-
“ fortunate prince, he would not have hesitated to
“ abandon ten of the best fortified places in his em-
“ pire, to preserve so fine an army; but fate has de-
“ cided otherwise.” In fact, the garrison of Bagdad
was composed of brave soldiers and choice troops;
and the king of Persia did not imagine it possible to
take that town. He had sent thither the kizlar aga
(the chief of the black eunuchs), with the best part
of his treasures, and he relied very much upon the
fortifications, and the garrison of the place. Now,
according to the report of the Turkish spies, the
schah has no more than 3000 men near his person,
and Rostamkhan, his general, had no more than
12,000. It had never been known before that the
Persians had lost 20,000 men in a single day.

After this conquest, the tent of the sultan was
erected near Bagdad, Monday the 11th of Schaban
(the 20th of December 1638), and he departed ten
days after for the Diarbekr. He gave orders for
the rebuilding of the walls and the fortifications
of the town, and left the grand vizir there to super-
intend the works. The fortifications were re-
paired, so that this place was no longer exposed to
be taken by force. The grand vizir then entered
on the Persian territories: after a march of ten days,
he received a deputy from the king, who made pro-
posals of peace; which was concluded, on condition
that the king should deliver up two strong places
of his dominions; which was accepted, and the two
places put into the hand of the grand vizir, who left

there 12,000 men in garrison, and exempted their territory from all taxes, during three years. He gave the command of it to the pacha Mohammed Dervisch.

Three of Sultan Morad's brothers had been put to death by his order, Abouyezid, Soleïman, and Kassem; the two first were his maternal brothers. Mustapha, another brother of Morad, died on his return from the expedition against Bagdad. Morad was feared and respected by all the kings of the earth; Khorrem Schah, the Mogul sovereign of India, sent him presents twice, though his country was at the distance of four months travelling: no other Ottoman prince had experienced a like honour.

Beglerbegs of Egypt, under the reign of Sultan Morad.

The first governor of Egypt, nominated by this prince, was Beïram Pacha: he protected men of letters, and made some lucrative undertakings and commercial speculations in various kinds of merchandizes, and even in soap: he also knew how to keep the troops in submission. When he quitted his post, he had a contest with his successor with respect to what he owed to the treasury: the sandjacs interposed in the affair, and he was discharged for nine hundred and five purses. He left the province with a brilliant equipage and attendance; and at his arrival at Constantinople, the sultan gave him the third place of vizir in the divan.

He

He had for successor the vizir Mohammed Pacha, a wise and intelligent man. He led a most sedentary life, and appeared but six times in public during the continuance of his government, which was two years. Having been informed of the ill state of affairs in Yemen, he gave advice thereof to the sultan, and persuaded him to send into that province Cansouhbeg, who was then emir-elhadj. The sultan approved this advice, and sent to Cansouhbeg the patents of his government: he nominated him at the same time vizir and beglerbeg of the army. Cansouhbeg levied an army of three thousand men, of which above three hundred were soldiers of the garrison of Cairo, or the neighbouring places, whom the hope of making fortunes had engaged to sell their houses, lands, and the pay they enjoyed in Egypt, to follow Cansouh. Mohammed Pacha denied nothing that Cansouh desired of him. However, his army began to perpetrate all kind of violence, murders, and robberies, on the inhabitants, and to plunder the travellers on the roads. Two thousand men of the province of Romania, sent by the sultan to accompany Cansouh, came to join him in Egypt; and far from being burthen some to the inhabitants, they restored them to tranquillity, by putting a stop to the robberies of the troops of that emir. Cansouh found always some new pretence to defer his departure, notwithstanding the reiterated instances of the pacha, who granted him all the sums he demanded. At length he embarked the two thousand men of the province of

Romania, and some other troops under the conduct of the emir Djafar aga, who had been an officer in the Circassian troops of Egypt, and himself took the road in the month of Moharram, 1039, (August 1629). His expedition was not attended with success, and all Arabia-felix fell under the dominion of the Imam.

In the year 1040, the overflowing of the Nile was very moderate: the first day of Tot, (1630-1) it was not yet at the 16th dhira: the sluices were opened, and the same day it lowered suddenly. This occasioned a great dearth, but the good conduct of the governor saved the people, by placing them out of the reach of vexation. Mohammed Pacha, on his return to Constantinople, was nominated by the sultan to the fifth place of vizir in the divan.

The vizir Moussa Pacha succeeded Mohammed; he was received with the most flattering testimonials of joy and satisfaction, and the troops went to meet him as far as Schebra. On the very first day he held the divan, he ordered the head of a cateb of Suez to be struck off, and confiscated his property, which amounted to seventy-five purses. A few days after he crucified Morad, son of Alaeddin Nakib, (chief of the scherifs) of Beitelhasba, and appropriated to himself his succession likewise to the amount of the purses. He bestowed all the offices on the people of his retinue; but this conduct having excited the murmurs of the sandjacs, he laid the fault on Ketkhodan Redhwan-aga; took
away

away his place, and restored the employments to those who had been deprived of them. He also began to enquire into the distribution of the pay and pensions, with intention of making retrenchments in this object. This operation gave great embarrassments: they represented to him the consequences, and he gave up his project. Nobody was exempt from his oppressions; he watched the conduct of all the rich, to find out some pretence of seizing upon their fortunes.

In the month of Schaban 1040, (March 1631,) the sultan demanded troops of him for the expedition against the Persians. Moussa gave the command of those troops to the emir Kitasbeg, and laid a tax on the province, for the furnishing the camels necessary for this expedition. He received an hundred purses, the produce of this tax, and twenty-two others from Kitasbeg; and when all these dispositions were complete, he sent a written order under his own hand, to Kitasbeg, by which he signified to him that it would be useless to march, that the treasure was exhausted, and could not supply the payment and maintenance of the army. The remonstrances of Kitasbeg were to no purpose; he could not prevail upon Moussa. Wednesday the 9th of Dhoulhadja, 1040, (the 9th of July 1631,) the day of the feast of the victims, (the little Beïram *Id Alkarabin*) on which it was a custom for all the sandjacs to go up to the castle to compliment the pacha, Kitasbeg presented himself with the other emirs. He first intended not to ap-

pear, because he was conscious of the pacha's unfavourable disposition towards him: but by permission of God, who was willing to accomplish his eternal decrees, he was prevailed upon to go up to the castle. Moussa received him with marks of honour and friendship; but when he rose to go out, the cateb of the treasure came before him, seized him by his legs, and threw him down. The mutesellim ran up immediately, and cut off his head with one blow of an axe: forty men threw themselves on his body, and pierced it with wounds. The emirs Canaanbeg and Alibeg, who had come to the pacha after Kitasbeg, shuddered with horror, and stood motionless. The body of Kitasbeg was carried back to his house, and this news spread terror throughout the garrison. A great number of sandjacs, having Kassimbeg at their head, assembled to attend the funeral of Kitasbeg: they turned out an aga who was come to put the seals on his house, and after having paid him the last duties, they made known to all the garrison, to the ketkhoda of the tschaoufchs, and the turdjeman, that whosoever should be found present at the feast, which the pacha was to give that day, would be punished with death. Moussa gave orders for the feast. After having expected the sandjacs for a long time in vain, he went to the mosque of sultan Nasser Mohammed ben Caloun, to make the prayer, as was the custom on that feast. On his return from the mosque, he eat with the people of his house, and distributed to the poor the remains of the repast.

The

The same day, the troops repaired to the house of the emir Kassembeg, and went with him to see the cadhilasker Seïd Mohammed. He was charged to go on the part of the army, to *that man* (as they called the pacha) to demand a reason for his having committed a murder on that solemn day, with injunction to bring forth the orders of the sultan if he had received any, or to give up the murderer into the hands of the troops to be tried. The pacha answered, that he had done nothing but in conformity to the orders of the sultan, but that he could not consent to any of the demands of the army. This answer excited great murmuring, but the assembly dissolved without coming to any resolution.

The troops, when they withdrew, met four men of the pacha's attendance; they put them all to death. Friday, the 11th of Dhoulhadja, the troops assembled again with all the sandjacs, in the place of Romeïlia: the principal officers met in the Medressa of the Sultan Hossan, and summoned the cadhilasker, the nakib alaschraf, and Ahmed Efsendi Alfadiki, my relation, who was musti of the mosque Sultania. They were deputed to the pacha, charged with the same propositions as before, if we except their demanding eight accomplices, who were described by name. The pacha replied, that the execution of the orders of the sultan respected himself alone; and he offered to put himself into the hands of the troops, or to consent to the army's nominating in his room a caïmacam, if they thought themselves empowered so to do. This
answer

answer excited a general indignation. Some were willing to get up to the castle, and slay the pacha; others proposed to seize the eight men the army required, and to throw them into prison. Several opposed the nomination of a caïmacam, and represented that the army had no right to depose a governor, or to nominate another without a delegation from the sultan. This was, however, the advice that prevailed. Hassembeg, an ancient defterdar, was created caïmacam, and vested with the castan by the nakib. Moussa Pacha hastened to inform the sultan of this revolution; the army addressed also two petitions to the sultan; the one written in Turkish, which was signed by the sandjacs, the agas, and the principal officers of the garrison; and the other in Arabian, subscribed by the cadies and the utemas. The caïmacam and the emirs required from Moussa four hundred and thirty-seven purses for the payment of what he owed to the treasury, and he sold his horse, camels, mules, and all his moveables, to pay that sum. The sultan having received the different petitions, gave the government of Egypt to Khalil Pacha albostandji. The mutesellim of the new governor, arrived at Cairo, Saturday the 16th of Safar 1041, (13th of Sept. 1631,) and brought an order to Hassanbeg to continue to exercise the functions of caïmacam, until the arrival of khalil.

Khalil Pacha took possession of his government in the month of Rebialewel, 1041, (October, 1631). He received intelligence in the month of Ramadhan

ham of the same year, that the 25th of Schaban, (17th of March, 1632,) a numerous army was coming from Yemen to invade Mecca, that the army of the Scherifs had marched to meet the enemy with the garrison, and the emir Mustaphabeg sandjac of Djidda, that after a long and obstinate combat it had been routed; that the emir Mustaphabeg, and the Seïd Mohammed, governor of Mecca, had lost their lives, and that the enemy had entered the town in triumph, and sacked it, without any regard either to the sanctity of the places consecrated by religion, or the honour of the women. At the same time they were informed that the chief author of that revolution was a sche-rif named Nami, to whom the conqueror had given the government of the city. Khalil Pacha communicated this news to the troops of Caïro, and the emir Kassembeg voluntarily offered himself to march against these usurpers. Khalil appointed him ferdar of the army destined for this expedition. He distributed castans to the emirs, whom he nominated to accompany him, and appointed the officers of the different military corps of cavalry and infantry who were to be employed in that war. The emir Redhwanbeg alzulascari departed at the head of the troops who were to repair to Arabia by land; he was vested with the dignity of emir-elhadj. Five hundred men embarked under the conduct of the emir Youssoufbeg alafrandj, and of the capoudans of Suez and of Damietta, and landed at Djidda. The land army found at Yanboa the
Seïd

Seïd Zeïd at the head of a troop of Arabians who had joined him. After the death of the Seïd Mohammed, who, as we have said, had been killed in the combat, the government of Mecca devolved on Zeïd. The Arabians, who had then took possession of Mecca, sent a deputation to Kassembeg, to ask to be established in garrison at Mecca, on condition that the regency of Caïro should pay them their stipends. Their deputies met the army of Egypt in the valley of Merou, called *Wadi Fatima*, and Kassembeg answered them, that the sword alone could decide that quarrel. Cour Mahmoud, chief of these banditti, secretly approached behind the mountains to view the strength of the army of Egypt. He saw that he was incapable of withstanding it, and returned quickly to Mecca, making the utmost haste he could to fly with all his troops. They retired towards Wadi abbas, and shut themselves up in a fort called *Turbet*. The army of Kassembeg having approached to Mecca, entered the city without meeting with any resistance; an hundred men of the enemy's army, who had remained for want of means to fly, were put to the sword. The army discharged first the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, and then disposed themselves to go in quest of the enemy. The troops who had embarked for Djidda landed there, and likewise took possession of that city without any resistance. After seven days march the army of Kassembeg discovered the enemy, whose tents were placed at the foot of the fort Turbet, at the
entry

entry of the province of Nedjid. After the first combat, in which the Arabians lost about one hundred men, they shut themselves up in the fort, and the conquerors plundered their tents. There were near that fort five wells which supplied the Arabians with water, and each of those wells was defended by a detachment of their army. Kassembeg the next day ordered his troops to attack them; four of these wells were carried, and the army formed an intrenchment opposite to the fifth, which lay on the foot of the walls of the fort. As soon as the Arabians approached to draw water, the Egyptian troops, sheltered behind their intrenchments, fired upon them, and killed a vast number: above two hundred of the enemy's army perished with thirst. Ali, one of their chiefs, made a vigorous sally, but he was repelled, and obliged to re-enter the place. Kassembeg was making a general assault, but one of his emirs advised him to plant a standard opposite to the fort, and to summon the besieged to repair to the standard; this advice was followed, and the besieged did not hesitate to submit. As fast as they arrived they were conducted to Kassembeg, who offered them the choice, either to remain with him, or withdraw where they should think proper. Curd ali desired also to capitulate: he addressed himself to several emirs of the army of Egypt, and when he had secured their consent, he presented himself to Kassembeg, without discovering his person, or acquainting him who he was, till after the ratification of the engagement which the
emirs

emirs had contracted with him. Kassembeg required only that the scherif Nami and his brother should be given up to him, as also Cour Mahmoud and his brother. Curd Ali entered the place, persuaded them that he had obtained for them the same capitulation as for himself, and engaged them to come over and see Kassembeg, who loaded them with chains. The Arabians all left the fort; there remained but three hundred of the thousand that had been there at first. The victorious army returned immediately to Mecca, where the four chiefs of the rebels were put to death by different kind of torments. Public rejoicings were made in the city during seven days. The army returned from Mecca in the month of Safar, 1042, (Aug. 1632); when they arrived at Caïro, the pacha testified his satisfaction to the emirs, and distributed castans, and rejoicings were made, which lasted five days.

There was great plenty in Egypt under the government of Khalel, and the ardab of corn, which cost eight grouschs before, was reduced to two. A Jew, named *Yacoub*, had for fifteen years exercised in Caïro the functions of sarraf-baschi, (chief of the exchangers). He had always been known to cultivate the favour of the governors; all the places and offices of the city were in his hands, and the Musulmans groaned under the pressure of his odious vexations. The khalif resolved to punish this criminal; he did not suffer either his presents, or the solicitations of the great who protected him, to effect a change in his resolution, because he was indebted

debted to them for large sums; on the contrary, having been informed that this was the reason of the concern they took in the fate of this profligate, he paid them what the Jew owed them, and put him to death. When Khalil quitted his government the shops were shut up from the 22d of Ramadhan, (1st of April, 1633), to the end of that month: No beglerbeg had received so flattering a testimonial of gratitude from the citizens. None had been punished with death under his government, but after a judicious inquiry. Three robbers having been presented to him one day, who had been stopped just before, he ordered them to be tried: one of the officers of the divan represented to him that all kinds of affairs were not to be subjected to the strict rules of proceeding, and that it would be eligible to make use of his authority, and to sentence them to death. The governor, for answer, directed the caleb of the divan to draw up an order to demolish the house of the officer who had held that discourse, and charged some of his attendants to put it into execution. That person, surprized at such a strange order, came to the pacha, and asked him the motive thereof. "How that
"house which thou has built affects thee with
"anxiousness; and shall not God be offended, if
"the edifice of his own hand should be destroyed?" The officer, confounded, kissed the lower end of the pacha's robe, loading him with blessings, and Khalil revoked the order he had given, and set the three robbers at liberty: from that time the greatest security

security reigned in the town. Khalil returning to Constantinople, the sultan confiscated his whole fortune, and banished him into the island of Cyprus with two slaves only; however, he afterwards restored him to his favour, returned him his whole fortune, and promoted him to the government of Romania.

Khalil Pacha had for his successor the Vizir Ahmed Pacha Alkurdji, who was before vested with the dignity of emir-akhour, (chief of the states). In the month of Safar, 1043, he received an order from the sultan to send into Syria 2000 men of the troops of Egypt for an expedition against the prince of the Druses, with 5000 quintals (kantar) of biscuit, and 4000 quintals of powder. He fulfilled the orders of the sultan, but instead of 2000 men he contented himself to send 500, of which he gave the command to the emir Hassanbeg Defterdar.

Hassanbeg having opened to Ahmed Pacha that there was a great scarcity of copper in Egypt, for the coining of small money, and that the sultan had a vast quantity in Romania, the pacha wrote to the sultan, and asked of him 1000 hundred weight of copper for the coining of small money. The sultan sent him 12,000 hundred weight, and asked him for the value of that copper, a return of 300,000 pieces of gold. The pacha assembled the sandjacs on this subject, who were of opinion, that those materials should be converted into obols: in consequence, he sent for all workmen of the hammer

mer, smiths, founders, and others, and established furnaces in the edifice called *Akberdi*. The workmen betook themselves to the fabrication, but the pieces they made were hardly intrinsically worth half the value of those that had been formerly coined, so that each of those ancient pieces would have made two of this new coinage. This diminution excited a general disquiet, the price of the goods augmented, and they became extremely scarce: besides this, the sultry heat of the work-houses caused a great number of workmen to perish. The pacha, informed of these inconveniences, came to visit the work-houses, and, being convinced himself of the extreme fatigue the workmen were overwhelmed with, he put a stop to the business, and permitted them to return to their homes. Some days after he assembled the emirs and the cadies of the boroughs and villages, and consulted them on the use he should make of that copper; one of the cadies counselled him to distribute it among the inhabitants of Caïro, by authority, and to employ it in the establishment of religious foundations. The pacha was not of the same opinion at first; his project was to convert it into wedges, and to send it to Tecrou, and into the country of the negroes, and to reimburse the sultan the value out of his own money: unfortunately this advice met with his approbation, and the very same day he appointed Mustaphabeg to superintend the distribution of the copper; he honoured him with a castan, and gave him a lodging in the building where

the coinage had been carried on. This distribution began the 16th of Dhoulhadja, 1043, (Jan. 13th, 1634), and did not finish until the middle of Rebialewel, 1044, (October 1634); no person, either high or low, was exempted from this scourge; the most indigent were constrained to take their share; as the players on instruments, those who wash the dead, the grave-diggers, the gardeners, the people of the markets, and the sailors. They received the value in specie, except in the latter days of the month of Schaban 1044, (February 1635); when they took eighty grouschs for one hundred weight of copper.

The same year, 1044, the rise of the Nile did not exceed nineteen dhira; yet, notwithstanding the dryness, the harvest was more plentiful than in the years when the land had been more overflowed. In the month of Schaban, the sultan demanded of the pacha 3000 men of Egypt, and 3000 quintals of powder, for the expedition against the Persians; he at the same time desired the pacha to give the command of the troops to the emir Redhwanbeg Alzulafcari and to Alibeg. The pacha answered, that Redhwanbeg was absent with the caravan of pilgrims, in quality of emir Elhadji, and as Alibeg was withheld by his post of governor of Djirdje, and by his superintendence of the supply of the corn from Upper Egypt, he could not possibly give him the command of the troops. Upon the sultan's answer he sent off about 2000 men, under the conduct of the emir Dilowerbeg, and had taken

care

care least the troops should do any damage to the province. Ahmed Pacha manifested, during the whole time of his government, an exact vigilance; knew how to command respect from the troops, and to render himself beloved by the poor citizens. In leaving Egypt he refused to account for what he owed to the treasury, but submitted himself to the judgment of the sultan; when he arrived at Constantinople the sultan struck off his head. The dissatisfaction of the sultan arose from the pacha's having distributed the copper for eighty grouschs per hundred weight, which he had sold to him at forty-five. He also reproached him with having sent him an army composed of poor only, and having taken money of the rich to grant them exemptions.

The vizir Hossain Pacha was nominated to succeed Ahmed; he rendered himself detestable by his rapines and cruelties. The emir Redhwanbeg, who had before his arrival exercised the functions of caïmacam, had caused several tents to be prepared for him, among which were those of the defterdar, the ketkhoda, the tschaouschs, and his own; Hossain Pacha took them for himself, without indemnifying the proprietors. He had brought with him a great number of Druses, who committed all kinds of excess and robberies. At the end of the month Ramadhan, the people of his train over-run the city, and carried to every shop one or two tapers of Alexandria, for which they exacted five grouschs of every merchant, as a gra-

tification for the approaching feast. The shops were shut, and it was only upon the representations of the emir Redhwanbeg that the pacha put an end to this kind of extortion. Nobody received any inheritance while he governed; he invaded the fortune of all those who died, whatsoever the number of their heirs might be. It was sufficient to procure one's revenge on an enemy, to denounce him to the pacha as guilty of having received a succession, or secreted his treasure; upon this bare accusation he was thrown into prison, and came out from it only by paying what it was thought proper to ask of him. There was no day Hossain did not ride through the town on horseback and massacre one or two persons; if he saw a great concourse of people in some place, he run up, sword in hand, and cleared the way, hewing down all he found on his passage, men or animals. He compelled the inhabitants to receive adulterated gold for silver, or adulterated silver for gold, which he took only by the weight, and this exaction was renewed every month. He invaded the foundations, and the rights of those who were in legitimate possession of them, and he appointed them another destination; finally, there was hardly any kind of vexations or cruelties he did not practise, delighting in the spilling of blood, and making even a sport and diversion of it. During the continuance of his government, which was one year and eleven months, he put to death twelve hundred persons, not including those he slew with his own

own hand. Notwithstanding these bad qualities, he knew how to keep his troops in awe, and to protect the citizens from their unjust exactions. In the divan he examined affairs with the most scrupulous attention, he repressed the arrogance of the bold and audacious, and, as long as he was at the helm, no robbery was ever heard of. The tidings of his deposition was accompanied by an order of the sultan, for him to give an account of the state of the treasury, and of other public revenues: on his refusal to pay the sum for which he was taxed, the caïmacam ordered him to a prison, and he was set free only by paying four hundred and eighty purses.

The vizir Mohammed Pacha succeeded Hofsaïn: he was son of Achmed Pacha, who was the son of a daughter of the sultan Selim II. He received an order in the month of Schawal, 1047, (February, 1638), to send fifteen hundred men to the Sultan Morad for the expedition against Bagdad. This army began to move in the month of Moharram, 1048, (May, 1638), and caused no damage on its march; it returned from Egypt after the taking of Bagdad, at the end of Safar, 1049, (June, 1639.) This pacha reaped a great number of rich successions by the death of the emirs, and of the most distinguished ulemas. He did not content himself with appropriating to his own use the revenues of the foundations, to enrich his servants; he called before him all the farmers charged with the receipt of the funds destined to

those establishments, and put them into irons until they had paid the sums to which they had been taxed, which exceeded by far their abilities; and he did not deliver the revenues of the foundations to those that were entitled to them, until he had extorted from them an equal sum, and sometimes double the value. He represented to the sultan, that among those who received pay from the public treasury, there was a great number of women; the sultan deprived them, and ordered that no woman should receive more than ten othmanis, and that thenceforward no allowance should be made to them. This reform excited great complaints, because those women were for the most part widows, or in reduced circumstances.

From the time Mohammed Pacha had taken possession of his government there had always reigned a strong enmity between him and the emir Redhwanbeg Aboulschewarib, emir Elhadji. When the sultan demanded of the pacha a detachment of Egyptian troops, he ordered him at the same time to give the command to Redhwanbeg. This emir gained the favour of the pacha* by a promise of forty purses, but he always deferred fulfilling this engagement until the departure of the caravan. The pacha improved this circumstance by withholding those forty purses of the sum destined for the disbursements of the caravan, when it was paid

* It was most assuredly to be excused accepting this commission, which was not so advantageous as the office of emir Elhadj.

in the camp of Birket-elhadj, into the hands of Redhwanbeg; the latter claimed his whole sum, and expostulated with the pacha in terms of the highest indignation. Mohammed sent him the forty purses he had withheld, and waited for an opportunity of taking his revenge: he was not long before he found it. Mustaphabeg, nominated a short time before beglerbeg of Habesch, died at Coufs, when he was going to enter upon his government; Mohammed wrote to the sultan to nominate Redhwanbeg in his stead, and made him a promise of five hundred purses out of the value of the fortune that emir was possessed of in Egypt. Having received an answer agreeable to his desire, he dispatched a courier to Redhwanbeg, with an order immediately to repair to his government, and to resign the conduct of the caravan into the hands of Soleïman, aga of the janisaries of Djida. Redhwanbeg was then at Medina, and was going to obey the orders he had received; but the aga of the janisaries excused himself from undertaking the conduct of the caravan, and it was generally agreed, that Redhwanbeg should re-conduct them into Egypt. After the departure of the courier, Mohammed appointed emir Wellbeg in the room of the emir Elhadj, and dispatched him to take the conduct of the caravan. He met at Bender-al-woudjh, the emir Redhwanbeg, who surrendered to him all that was annexed to that office, and departed with a small train for Romania; as soon as the caravan was returned, Mohammed hastened to

lay hold on all that belong to Redhwanbeg. The latter being arrived at Constantinople, the sultan was much inclined to put him to death, for having disobeyed his orders, in not coming to join him at Bagdad, and then for procrastinating the assuming of his government. All his protectors could obtain for him, was the favour of his life; but he was cast into prison, and recovered his liberty only a few days before the sultan's death. He returned to Egypt, and was re-instated in his post of emir-elhadj, under the reign of sultan Ibrahim. The vicissitudes and the disgraces this emir experienced, are similar to those of the Barmecides, whose history fills a great number of volumes.

Mohammed Pacha seized upon all successions, even of those who left legitimate heirs behind them, and how powerful protectors soever a man might have had near his person, one half was the utmost that could possibly be obtained. When the Sultan Ibrahim ascended the throne, after the decease of Morad, he did not send Mohammed the customary presents, which the pachas commonly received at the coronation of a new prince, and he took away from him the government of Egypt, to appoint him to that of Medina and Mecca. Mohammed apprehended he had incurred the displeasure of the new sultan, and for a while suspended his exactions; but he had no sooner heard that the customary presents had re-ingratiated him with the sultan, and that he had confirmed him in his government, than he abandoned himself with fresh vigour to his former tyrannical

tyrannical inclinations. He suppressed all the female musicians and players on instruments, and permitted them to exercise their profession, only on paying an enormous contribution. He ordered an account to be drawn up of the trades of all the different workmen in silk, and levied a tax on each branch: there were found 17,000 of them in Cairo, Ambaba, and Djize, not including those of other districts. Mohammed gave no ear to any representation on that subject, and alledged that this tax was indispensable for the coronation of the Sultan Ibrahim: the like imposition never had been heard of before in Egypt. The pacha appropriated to himself above one fourth of the produce of that impost. He also levied a stamp-duty on the balances and measures (dhira):

Mohammed Pacha having been bereft of his government, refused to pay the debts owing to the treasury until the arrival of Mustapha Pacha his successor: the latter settled his accounts, and required 700 purses from him. A short time after, the emir Redhwanbeg returned into Egypt, and re-entered in the possession of the place of emir El-hadj. All the citizens vied to felicitate him on this happy event, and proceeded to meet him as far as Boulac. The sultan in re-instating him in his dignity, permitted him to re-take the possession of all the property of lands, the revenues of which had been annexed to his post, and destined for the expenditure of the caravan, and to dispose of them with an unlimited licence.

History of the coronation, and of the reign of Sultan Ibrahim; beglerbegs of Egypt, nominated by this prince.

Ibrahim mounted the throne on Thursday the 16th of Schawal 1049, (9th of February 1640): he was dethroned the 17th of Redjeb 1058, (8th of August 1648), and strangled the 23d of the same month.

When the great vizir and the musti came to take him from the place of his retreat, to put him in possession of the throne, he refused, fearing his brother Morad might take away his life, as he had done by his other brethren. He placed no confidence in what these officers said to him, and did not consent to go to the seraglio until after the sultana-mother assured him that Morad was dead. Towards the end of his life he gave himself up to the love of women, and laid aside intirely all the cares of government. This conduct gave birth to a revolution which precipitated him from the throne, and placed his son Mohammed in his room. His mother herself favoured this revolution, convinced that his indolence was fatal to the state. In the third year of his reign, Sunbul, aga of the seraglio, whom the sultan had sent to Cairo, after having deprived him of that post, was taken at sea by the Franks with all his property. The sultan in revenge sent two hundred vessels to Allack, in the island of Candia; it was the finest possession of the Venetians. Canea, the strongest place of the island, fell into the hands of the Musulmans. Every
year

year the sultan sent fresh troops thither, until he became master of all the strong and inhabited places, which were 14,000 in number. Hossain Pacha, who had heretofore been governor of Egypt, commanded the Ottoman army, the second year after the taking of Canea. He left the enemy but one place in the whole island; it is that we call *Casr*.

The vizir Mustapha Pacha alboftandji was nominated by the sultan Ibrahim to the government of Egypt after Mohammed Pacha. The citizens had much to suffer under his government by the injustice and odious depredations of his *ketkhoda*, as well as by his cateb of the divan. The pacha was ignorant of their conduct; they alone had access to his person, and they held him, if I may so express it, besieged in the castle. Under the government of Mustapha, the increase of the Nile having been very short, the drought was general all over Egypt, and grain became exceedingly dear: a measure of corn (*wabya*) was sold at the price of thirty *nisfs* *.

In the month of Schawal 1051, the *tschaoufschs* revolted against their *ketkhoda* the emir Ali, and the pacha was constrained to yield to their requisitions and threats, and to deprive him of his place. He gave it to emir Abedinbeg, who was *turdje-*

* I must notice here that the calamity with which Egypt is afflicted, when the increase of the Nile is not sufficient to cover it, is always expressed in the Arabian text by the word *Scharaki*. This word, which is not to be found in the Dictionaries, cannot signify any thing else but dryness, and properly a dryness affected by the heat of the sun.

man. The emir Ali had drawn this disgrace upon himself, for having conferred military promotions by his own authority, on whom he pleased, instead of making the distribution in the divan.

Robbers had so much multiplied under the government of Mustapha, that there was not any night but some quarter of Caïro was plundered, which forced the inhabitants to abandon their dwellings. The pacha contented himself, when some of them were seized, to give them up into the hands of the wala, (an officer charged with the police) without sentencing them to any punishment, and the wala set them at liberty for some presents. Five-and-twenty of these robbers, who lay concealed in a subterraneous place near Djize, were taken and carried before the caschef of that town. The caschef accepted presents from several, and dismissed them; he sent the others to the wala, who set them free, after having received from them a sum of money. The excess of these robberies, and the conduct of the wala, excited general murmurs, and the pacha was obliged to displace him, appointing in his room the emir Canaanbeg. The latter began immediately to make enquiry respecting the robbers: several were taken and led before the pacha, who passed no sentence on them. The wala kept them in prison till the arrival of Maksoud Pacha, who succeeded to Mustapha in the government of Egypt. This new pacha ordered some to execution, and condemned the others to the galleys, to labour at the oar.

Mustapha

Mustapha Pacha was afterwards exposed to a great danger, by a general commotion of the troops. They complained that the public granaries were unprovided, and that above one year's ^{no}ratio were due to them, and they compelled the cadhilasker Mohammed Effendi to come and view the storehouses, to take an account of the quantity of grain he found there. They found the granaries empty, and that the greatest part of the grain had been sold to the Christians. These enquires having been made, proved that it was Ahmed Effendi, cateb of the divan of Mustapha, who had sold the grain without the participation of the pacha: his place was taken from him to comply with the desire of the troops: a few days after the emir Ahmedbeg presented himself before the pacha, promising to pay the troops their due, and to fill the granaries: the pacha accepted his offers, and gave him the necessary authority to accomplish his promises. Ahmed acquitted himself so well in this commission, that in less than a fortnight he stored more than 30,000 ardabs of corn in the granaries, and began to pay off the arrears of the army. The troops were appeased, and the price of victuals was lowered. The cateb of the divan succeeded in re-conciliating the favour of the tschaouschs and in re-establishing himself in his port; he behaved still worse than before: the pacha depended entirely on him, and did nothing without his advice. Mustapha reaped, during his government, several opulent *successions*; but they were all absorbed by his ketkhoda or the cateb.

After

After the death of emir Mustaphabeg two hundred thousand ardabs of corn were found in his possession which were all sold to the people at the rate of four grouschs the ardab. The doctor Mohammed Effendi left also a considerable succession behind him, consisting chiefly in curious books, and in precious china ware: he had above 5000 volumes in his possession. The cateb put into chests, and sent to Constantinople, what he could find most valuable.

When Mustapha left his government of Egypt, his successor, the vizir Makfoud Pacha, demanded 1700 purses of him, as the sum he was indebted to the treasury. Mustapha refused paying that sum; he alledged that the drought of 1051, had brought on the treasury a loss of five hundred purses on the lease of the lands, and that his predecessor, Mohammed Pacha had, in quitting Egypt, retained five hundred purses on the land revenues of the treasury of the preceding year. Makfoud answered him: " You have kept 470 purses on account of
" the drought which has distressed that province
" under the government of Mohammed: this sum
" ought to make good what the dryness you complain of has cost you. As to the five hundred
" purses you have given up to the pacha Mohammed, he was accountable, and you ought to have
" compelled the payment." Mustapha lamented that he had been deceived by Mohammed. Makfoud represented to him, that if he had been duped, it was by the men of his own house, who had prevented

vented him from having the cognizance of his own affairs. The sandjacs and the agas attempted in vain to bring them to an agreement: Makfoud sent the ketkhoda and the cateb to prison, and kept Mustapha in his house, under a close guard of two emirs. He wrote to the sultan, who enjoined him to exact from Mustapha and his people, the payment of all that remained due to him, and, in case of refusal, to put all their goods to sale, and to send them to Alexandria, to be kept in the fortress until he should order them to Constantinople. Makfoud, encouraged by these orders, after having secured the consent of the troops, sent several emirs and the bouluc-agas, to give notice thereof to Mustapha. All the representations and instances of these officers were fruitless, and Mustapha constantly refused to pay what they requested of him. Makfoud ordered him to be shut up in a building of the castle; and threatened the ketkhoda and the cateb to have them bastinadoed if they did not undertake to pay the sum at which they should be taxed. The executioners had already summoned them, and they were upon the point of being punished, when they at last submitted to what was required of them. Makfoud caused Mustapha to be conveyed to Boulac, into a house where he was kept prisoner; he took still several steps respecting him, and it was at last agreed upon, that he should be set free, paying only 250 purses over-and-above the sum that was to be furnished by the ketkhoda and the cateb. Mustapha subscribed to this agreement,

ment, and an account was drawn out of all the sums for which he had remained debtor to the treasury, beyond what had been exacted from him: it amounted to 450 purses. Hossain aga Emirakhour, (chief of the stables) who had brought the orders from the sultan, was charged to convey to Constantinople the writings containing these depositions, and it was agreed that the ketkhoda of Mustapha should disburse the promised sums to the sultan, and that Hossain Aga should bring the acquittal for them. After this agreement, the ketkhoda and the cateb, accompanied by several persons of the suite of Makfoud, repaired to Constantinople; to collect the sum at which their master had been taxed and the two hundred purses, to the payment of which they had been personally assessed, and to put the whole at Scudari into the hands of the chief officer of the treasury, who departed from Caïro at the same time they did. Makfoud received afterwards an order of the sultan, to send without delay the Pacha Mustapha to Constantinople. Makfoud communicated this order to him, and supplied him with all he could want in his voyage. The sultan contented himself with obliging him to pay two hundred purses to Mustapha, and discharged his successor, the pacha Makfoud, of the four hundred and fifty, for which Mustapha remained still indebted. He gave him a place afterwards among the seven vizirs, who sit in the divan of Romania, in consideration of his being his brother-in-law.

The

The vizir Makfoud Pacha had been beglerbeg of Diarbekr before he had been nominated governor of Egypt. In his time the province was afflicted with a plague more fatal even than those which wasted it under the government of the beglerbeg's Ali Pacha and Djafar Pacha: this scourge was general, and the adult people were no more exempted from it than the younger. Never was the terror so great: every one was in expectation of death every instant, and thirty carcases might often have been seen carrying in the streets at one time. Old men of above eighty years died on this occasion, which had never been remarked before. The distemper began to manifest itself at Boulac, from the beginning of Schaban 1052, (Nov. 1642); it was not until two months after that its symptoms appeared at Caïro; it raged in full force from the first days of Dhoulcaada of this year to the end of Safar 1053, (Feb. 1643): it then began to abate, but did not intirely cease until the end of the following month. The number of dead bodies that were brought to the five principal mosques (djame) of Caïro, from the beginning of Dhoulcaada to the end of Moharram, that is, during about three months, was 962,000. A great number of citizens preferred the discharging in their own houses the last duties prescribed by religion, to the carrying the bodies to the chapels or mosques nearest to their dwellings, and the number of those that were interred in this manner must be at least equal to the former. They counted the infants of both

sexes that were lost on this occasion, and they were found about 5000 in number. The governor at last issued a prohibition not to carry in public the bodies of those who died, and he ordered them to be buried without any ceremony. At the end of Safâr, the value of the salaries, which proved vacant by the decease of those who had the right to them, amounted to 160,000 othmanis a day, and the number of the rations to 12,000 ardabs of corn per month. Two hundred and thirty villages were also vacant by the death of those to whom they had been granted.

Makfoud was the author of several public works, that proved burthensome to the people, and interrupted commerce, which caused an increase in the price of all commodities. He suppressed all kind of unjust exactions and extortions, and abolished the tax on female singers and players of instruments. He left the successions to the legitimate heirs, and contented himself with taking as much as was due to the treasury. He ordered strict enquiries against those robbers who had done so much damage under the government of Mustapha: he punished them by the severest torments, and re-established by that measure the security of the country.

On Friday the 20th of Dhoulcaada 1053, (29th of Jan. 1644), the capoudan of Alexandria designing to launch a vessel newly constructed; the Christian slaves, who were distributed in several other ships, were assembled; they were about six hundred in number. When they had been freed of their
fettters,

fetters, an hundred and fifty united, forced the gate of the arsenal, seized the arms, and having entered Alexandria, at the time the people were in the mosques, they broke open the shops and plundered them; they then got on board one of the vessels that was in the port and escaped.

A general conspiracy was formed of all the sandjacs against the Pacha Makfoud, and Friday the 12th of Ramadan 1054, (21st of Nov. 1644), they met at the emir Redwhanbeg Aboulschewarib's. Their discontent originated from the pacha's having demanded of them the third of what they were indebted to the public treasury, in proportion to the military employments they were in possession of, to raise the funds for the pay of the troops for the month Ramadan. They gave for answer, that the Nile had retired forty days later than usual, which had been an obstacle to the earlier sowing; and moreover, that there was still above one month wanting to the ordinary expiration of the first payment. The pacha persisting in exacting this payment, they met, and declared to him, by their agas, that they would not submit to payment before the proper time. They also demanded the superceding of several officers, which they considered as the instigators of the pacha: Makfoud gratified them, and consented even to send into exile those whose removal they had desired. The sandjacs addressed then a petition to the sultan, in which they spoke to this purport: "The vizir Makfoud Pacha has solicited
" us to subscribe a petition to the sultan, in which

“ he sets forth that the lands have suffered by
“ drought, and that they have been obliged to
“ take five hundred purses on the revenues of this
“ year, to make good the funds of the treasury of the
“ preceding year. We have absolutely refused that,
“ because we were informed, that he has had a sur-
“ plus of seven hundred purses on the public reve-
“ nues of the last year: the lands have besides been
“ watered enough, and there has existed no dryness.
“ We have therefore stated the condition of the
“ public treasury, and we have represented to him,
“ that we were but depositaries of the revenue of
“ the sultan, and that we could not impose on
“ him. You must have received that petition
“ signed by the emirs Canaanbeg and Youffouf-
“ beg, and of the Roudhnamedji *.” The sand-
jacs next represented in their memorial what con-
cerned the anticipated payment the pacha had re-
quired of them. They complained that the rents
on military tenures had increased one-third since
the year 1040, and they intreated the sultan to sup-
press this augmentation: lastly, they supplicated
him to order, that the pay and the public leases
may pass from parents to children by right of suc-
cession. They charged some officers of the garri-
son with the conveyance of their memorial. After
the departure of their deputies, the pacha received
a letter from the sultan: he observed to him, that
he had been informed of the revolt of the troops,
that he was ignorant of the cause, and surprised

* An officer who keeps the register of the daily expences.

that

that the pacha should not have given him information of it. Makfoud answered the sultan, that there existed no revolt, but that the army having complained of some abuses, sanctioned by custom, he had reformed them. A short time after, new orders of the sultan, directed to the pacha, and to the corps of mutefarrakas, tschaoufchs, janisaries, spahis and azabs, were brought by the great aga: the sultan enjoined them to make enquiry after the authors of the revolt, and to deliver them to the pacha to be tried. Makfoud asked the sandjacs whether they had any thing to oppose to those orders. The emir Mamaïbeg arose, and said, "We have excited no uproar, and we do not oppose, in any thing, the pleasure of the sultan, whose slaves we are. We have had just matter of discontent; we have laid our complaints before him, and we expect his answer."

The pacha however continued to pursue this affair, under pretence that he could not avoid sending an answer to the sultan. He wished to get the emirs Alibeg and Mamaïbeg, and of the defterdar Schaban Effendi, out of the divan: he had suborned men to kill them, but the defterdar having come into the divan alone on that day, the pacha was aware that it would prove of little service to him to free himself of a single man. Tuesday the 21st of Dhoulhadja 1053, (the 1st of March 1644), the whole army resolved to depose Makfoud, and to appoint for caïmacan the defterdar Schabanbeg. Makfoud received with plea-

sure the news of this resolution, which was notified to him by the agas; he put a caftan on Schabanbeg, and withdrew to his own house. The fandjacs directed a new petition to the fultan, giving an account of what had happened, and protefting their readinefs to accept any governor the fultan might be pleafed to fet over them. Soleïman Aga, the bearer of the petition, returned at the end of forty days with the fultan's anfwer, who granted them all their requests, and informed them of the nomination of Ayoub Pacha in the room of Makfoud. When the new pacha arrived at Cairo, warm alterations took place between him and Makfoud, for the payment of what the latter remained indebted to the treafury. Ayoub having fummoned him, he furrendered himfelf at the caftle, and entered, of his own accord, the place where the pachas ufed to be kept in cuftody, confcious that the only intention of the pacha was to fhut him up in prifon: this affair was terminated by the mediation of the fandjacs. Makfoud, on his return to Conftantinople, was fharpely reproached by the fultan, and put to death by his order, for having affented to the nomination of a caïmacan, and for abandoning the caftle, without being constrained by open force.

Ayoub Pacha had employments in the feraglio, when the fultan Ibrahim, hearing of the depofition of Makfoud, and meeting him at the fame time, nominated him governor of Egypt notwithstanding his refusal. During the fpace of about two years
he

he occupied that post, his good conduct, and that of the officers who shared his confidence, kept up in every quarter tranquillity and good order. When he quitted his government, he resigned his dignity of vizir, gave up to the sultan all he was possessed of, and embraced the profession of dervisch in a monastery of Romania.

The vizir Mohammed Pacha ben Haïdar succeeded to Ayoub Pacha: he maintained himself in that place near two years and an half, and the whole time of his government was only a series of confusion and revolutions.

The 10th of Redjeb 1057, (11th of Aug. 1647,) some janisaries carried off a woman, and brought her by force to ancient Misr; the wala of that city, who knew her, came to take her out of their hands. The janisaries resolving to be revenged, went up to the pacha to demand the death of the wala. This officer was sent for, and his affair having been discussed in the divan, in presence of the cadhi Seïd Mohammed Effendi Hanifizade, the pacha sentenced him to be strangled: this wala was of the corps of the tschaoufschs. The pacha, feeling that this affair could not be long undiscovered by the sultan, determined to draw up a memorial on this subject, and took the advice of Cansouhbeg. The latter persuaded him, to represent in the memorial, that this affair originated with a band of people whom the emir Redhwanbeg emir-elhadj had brought with him from Mecca; that these adventurers, who formerly exercised the trade of robbers on the lands

of Yemen, were now attached to the service of Redhwanbeg, and Alibeg, governor of Djirdje. He also advised him to add, that if he was somewhat slow in sending the treasure, it was by the fault of these two emirs and their partisans, who were to furnish the major part of the money, and that the pacha was not powerful enough to compel them to make payment; that lastly, if the sultan would check their excesses, and facilitate the reception of the rents, he knew no other means than to give the place of emir-elhadj to Mamaïbeg, and to appoint Cansouhbeg to the government of Djirdje. This request, drawn up by the advice of Cansouhbeg, was signed by a great number of persons; among those who underwrote it, was one of the friends of Redhwanbeg, who hastened to inform him of it. The emir Redhwanbeg also drew up a petition, wherein he set forth the truth of the facts, and unveiled the black intention of those who drew up that of the pacha; he observed that the principal of the treasure were in the hands of the emirs Mamaïbeg and Cansouhbeg: he concluded by declaring his intire submission, and that of Alibeg, to the orders of the sultan. By a just disposition of Providence, it happened that the petition of Redhwanbeg arrived before that of the pacha, and the great vizir made report to the sultan. *I know*, said the sultan, *the emirs Redhwanbeg and Alibeg, they are incapable of what is imputed to them; and it is perhaps only the effect of a dangerous intrigue.* The next day he received the memorial from the pacha, and he sent

sent orders to the emirs Redhwanbeg and Alibeg, to make enquiries, in conjunction with the pacha, against those who detained the rents of the treasury, and to try both them and the pacha if they should refuse to pay. The two emirs having received these orders, repaired to Cairo the 21st of Djoumadi-loula 1057, (24th of June 1647). Monday the 26th in the morning, the emir Alibeg went up to the castle; the pacha expected him in the Carameïdan, and Alibeg entered the place, accompanied by all his troops. The pacha set two castans on him, and distributed others to several of the officers of the emir's train, and to fourteen caschefs, whose departments depended on the government of Djirdje. As often as a caschef entered the carameïdan the drums were beat: never before did a pacha leave the castle, and descend in the carameïdan, to receive a governor of Djirdje. Tuesday the 27th, all the military corps, the emirs and the sandjacs, assembled in the place of Romelia; Cansouhbeg and Mamaïbeg were the only men who were not present. They were summoned several times, and refused to come; but at length, by an effect of the eternal decrees, Mamaïbeg went to see Cansouhbeg, and he persuaded him, notwithstanding his reluctance, to accompany him to the place of assembly. After having declared their submission to the orders of the sultan, they answered the emir Alibeg, who summoned them to furnish the funds of the treasury, that they had never been entrusted with them, and that the pacha must know

to

to whom he had committed them. The same moment they received an order of the pacha to come up to the castle, and to treat with him on the affair of the treasury: they saw that this was but a snare laid for them to secure their persons. Cansouhbeg was going to resist, but Mamaïbeg dissuaded him, exhorting him rather to sacrifice himself to the interest of the citizens, and to the preservation of public tranquillity. As soon as they had entered the castle, the azabs and the janisaries barricaded the passage with their muskets, to hinder their attendants from following them. In the court of the castle they met Mohammed, aga of the janisaries, charged with an order of the pacha to put them into prison; they were disarmed, and shut up in a tower of the castle. Cansouhbeg vented reproaches against Mamaïbeg, whilst the latter entreated him to submit to the will of heaven. The next day they were strangled in prison, (the 1st of July 1647). Cansouhbeg attempted to defend himself, and it was with difficulty they could get the better of him; the other emir on the contrary continued his prayer with great composure, till the moment the executioners came up to strangle him. Their bodies were exposed in the place of Romelia, in the sight of the army, and interred the same day. Several other emirs were also apprehended at the same time, and punished in like manner. The tranquillity which had been re-established by this revolution was again interrupted some time after by the cabals of the emir Mustapha-alscheschnir, ketkhoda of the tschaoufchs.

ouschs. The place of sandjac of the emir Cansouh-beg had been promised to him, and as they deferred fulfilling this engagement, he fell out with the emirs Redhwanbeg and Alibeg, and irritated the pacha against them.

Monday the 8th of Ramadhan, (7th of October 1647,) Alibeg received an order from the pacha to quit Caïro, and to set out without delay for his government of Djirdje. Friday the 12th of the same month the pacha gave a great feast, and sent repeatedly for Redhwanbeg to assist; this emir, suspecting some surprise, constantly refused attending it. The pacha, to have his revenge, took away from him the place of emir-elhadj, and gave it to the emir Hassenbeg, son-in-law of Nakib. Redhwanbeg resolved immediately to quit Caïro and to go in quest of Alibeg; the same evening he set off, and departed with about two hundred men, among whom there were some emirs and several cashiefs: they left the town surrounded by a crowd of people, and repaired to the suburb Carafa. The next day the pacha vested with a castan the emir Youssouf-begdesterdar, named him emir of Djirdje, and ordered two thousand men of the garrison to hold themselves in readiness to march against the emirs Redhwanbeg and Alibeg, under the orders of Abedibeg. The emir Abedibeg, conscious of the injustice of this enterprize, employed the whole night, with some friends of Redhwanbeg, in intrigues to prevail on the sandjacs to oppose the execution. The next day the whole army repaired to the place
of

of Romelia, the sandjacs went up to the castle, and protested that they would not execute the orders of the pacha, unless he produced the orders of the sultan, and set himself at the head of the army: all the troops testified they were of the same resolution. In that moment the emir Ibrahim, ketkhoda of Redhwanbeg, arrived from Constantinople; he was charged with a castan from the sultan Redhwanbeg, and with an order, conferring on him the place of emir-elhadj for his life: the sultan had also entrusted him with a like present for Alibeg, and likewise confirmed him in his government of Djirdje for the remainder of his days. The pacha having taken cognizance of the sultan's orders, sent the castans to the two emirs, joined two others in his own name, and begged of them to return to Caïro. The emir Mustapha, ketkhoda of the tschaouschs, was then searched for, and some other officers who took part in the affair. Friday the 19th of Ramadhan, Redhwanbeg and Alibeg returned to Caïro, and after having reciprocally sworn inviolable union, Alibeg returned to Djirdje, and Redhwanbeg to his own house.

The 6th of Dhoulhadja 1057, (2d of Jan. 1648,) it was reported at Caïro, that the vizir Mustapha Pacha had been nominated governor of Egypt instead of Pacha Mohammed ben Haïdar; but the 26th of the same month they were informed that the sultan had taken away from him that government to nominate the vizir Pacha. This pacha totally neglected affairs to give himself entirely up to

to pleasure; yet the government was not disturbed by any revolution. When he left Egypt, Ahmed Pacha, his successor, settled his accounts: he was found indebted to the treasury seven hundred purses. Ahmed assented to his paying them at Constantinople; but at his return to that city, the sultan confiscated his whole fortune, and those of the people of his household.

Coronation of the Sultan Mohammed (Mahomet IV.)

Son of Ibrahim: Beglerbegs of Egypt, under the Reign of this Prince.

Mohammed was crowned the 17th of Redjeb 1058, (the 8th August,) and the account of it was received at Cairo, at the beginning of Ramadhan, of the same year. Mohammed nominated to the government of Egypt, the vizir Ahmed Pacha, who had been formerly ketkhoda of the capidjis. The whole time of his government, which lasted two years, was agitated by great disturbances. In the year 1060, (1650) the Nile did not rise higher than sixteen dhira, which brought on a great calamity: scarce any land of the Lower Egypt could be watered; and in the upper part, there was scarcely one-third that could be laid under water. Although the Ahmed Pacha had amassed greater sums than any of his predecessors, he informed the porte, that he could not support the expenditures, and sent but two-thirds of the usual treasure. The emir Kethvanbeg having departed the same year, with the caravan, the pacha, who had always entertained

tertained an aversion to him, wrote to the sultan to dispossess him of his place of emir-elhadj, and to transfer it on Alibeg, who had no knowledge of his intrigue. The sultan sent him orders agreeable to his request; and as soon as he had received them, he summoned the emir Alibeg, and put him in possession of this dignity. His intention was to divide those two emirs, and he resolved to make Kedhwanbeg feel the weight of his power, as soon as he would be returned: but the night of the Saturday, 6th of Safar, it was reported that the sultan had taken away the government from Ahmed Pacha. Redhwanbeg heard those different accounts without testifying any emotion, either of indignation or joy, and the people conceived such a high idea of his virtue, that they gave him no other appellation but that of Scheikh Redwan. Alibeg having set out to meet him, Redhwanbeg testified to him, that his intention had been to resign that place even in the preceding year; they jointly entered the city, in the night of the acclamations of the people, and surrendered themselves at the caramëidan, where the caïmacam received them with every kind of distinction, and made presents to them and the men of their retinue.

Wednesday the 10th of Safar, the emir Alibeg re-assembled all the troops, and divesting himself in their presence of the castan, which he wore as a mark of his new dignity, put it on Redhwanbeg. The sandjacs settled the accounts of Ahmed Pacha, and asked payment of him for what he remained
indebte

indebted. At the same time the commissaries of the receiver of the revenue destined for Mecca and Medina, charged him with having sold the grain that was destined for the support of these two places, and claimed of him 3600 ardabs of corn, and the expences of the transportation. Ahmed refused payment, and was shut up in the castle of Joseph. This affair was concluded by an agreement; Ahmed went out of prison, and made his way to Romania.

The vizir Abdervahman Pacha succeeded him: he occupied this place till the beginning of Schawal of the year 1062, (1652), when he was dispossessed: he had many contests with his successor, for the payment of what he was owing to the treasury, and was shut up in the castle of Joseph, also called *Carfar alablak*. This contest was terminated by the interference of the sandjacs; Abdervahman was restored to liberty, and departed with a numerous train.

His successor, the vizir Mohammed Pacha was appointed to the government of Egypt, the 5th of Schawal 1062, (19th of September 1652,) and made his entry at Cairo, Tuesday the 8th of Moharvam 1063, (10th of December 1652).

The fourth chapter of the work of Schemseddin, treats of the different districts of Egypt, and the number of the towns and villages in both.

Egypt is divided in two parts, the higher called Kibli, that is southern, and the lower which is called Bahri, that is maritime: it contains at this time

fix-

fix-and-twenty departments (amel). In the Lower Egypt are the following departments: Scharkie, Rihaiyé, Dekehlié, where writing paper was formerly manufactured, the trade for which, extended to all countries where the Mahometan religion is professed; the island of Kavifnas named to this day Garbié, whose capital is Mehalea, the districts of Semenoud, Rikawié, Menouf, Nefterawié, Four, the two Mazahamé, of Djeziré-beni-Nafr, Baheiré, Alexandria and Djauf-Ramsis. The meridional part includes the department of Djizé formerly so famous for the abundance and excellence of its fruits, and by the beauty of the flowers it produced; those of Atfih, of Aboufir, of Faïoum, a town built by Joseph; of Belineffa almost in ruins at this time, where formerly fine wrought carpets were manufactured; of Manselout and of Oyfout. This latter town was renowned anciently for its manufactory of all kind of fine stuffs; it also carried on a great commerce in flax with all countries mussulman or infidel. At present its commerce is entirely reduced, and it is from Faïoum that the finest flax is drawn. At Oyfout bitter oranges are to be found, and geese of an extraordinary size, some which weigh one hundred and twenty pound (rotl). The department of Akhmin belongs still to Upper Egypt: this city is remarkable for its many ancient monuments, for its sheep, and for its talismans.

There were here formerly two kinds of myroboluns, called *citrinum* and *chebulense*, (ihliledj asfar, *myrobal citrinum*, ihliledj cabuli, *myr chebulense*)
and

and the hyospiam* (*shedjer albendj hyosciamus datura*) which is so scarce. Several kinds of stuffs were made at Akhmim, known by the name of *motraf*, *motarraz*, *molam abyadb* and *molam mulawan*: a coat of the latter stuff, or of *motraf*, cost fifty pieces of gold. The other departments of Upper Egypt are those of Coufs, of Aswan, and of Alwihat, (the Oasis).

The rest of the chapter contains only extracts of different authors, relative to the fertility of Saïd, and chiefly of the territory of Coufs and Aswan: some accounts of the ancient Memphis, of little importance, and an enumeration of several cantons of Egypt, with the number of villages in each of them.

The fifth chapter contains the texts of the Alcoran, of the traditions, where Egypt is mentioned, and the excellencies of that country.

In the sixth chapter, the author speaks of the prophets who have preached the worship of one God.

The seventh chapter contains some eulogia on Egypt, and the names of the princes and prophets who have chosen it for their residence.

The eighth chapter treats of the history of the prophets, sages, and most celebrated princes of Egypt: this is but a compound of fables.

* It seems that the Arabian name is also given to the *stramonium*, or *dalura metbel*. It is even given, though improperly, to the preparation of leaves of hemp, which the Arabians make use of, to put themselves in a kind of intoxication. See the Dictionary of Meninski.

The ninth chapter succinctly treats of the conquest of Egypt by the Mussulmans. The author describes Babylon under the names of *Omm-denin* and *Almaks*, which names are unknown to me, and which I do not recollect ever having read in any other writer.

The tenth chapter contains an account of the fortified towns of Egypt; of the commercial ones of the *mescheds*,* the most famous one of Cairo, of Alexandria, of Djidze, and of Carafa. We also find some fables respecting mount *Mocattam*.

In the eleventh chapter are found collected, the remarkable sayings by which several princes or philosophers have celebrated the fertility and excellencies of Egypt. About forrages we read the following article:

The meadows in Egypt begin to thrive at the end of the month Paopi, and are fit for mowing in the month of Choïac†: then the beasts go out to graze. Those meadows are overgrown with a kind of trefoil (kort, *trifolium Alexandrinum*), the seed of which is called *berfim*; it is sown in Paopi, and the crop is gathered in the months of Choïac and of Zobi‡: it is a moist forage which purges the

* Chapels built over the tomb of persons who have distinguished themselves by a pious conduct, and a life consecrated to religion, or who died in its defence.

† Paopi is the second month of the year of the Cophtes, and answers to October: Choïac is the fourth, and answers to December. Lower down may be found an abridgement of the calendar of the Cophtes.

‡ Fifth month of the Egyptian year, which answers to the month of January.

horses, keeps them free from distempers, and at length fattens them. These forages are preferable to the pastures of Syria and Irak; they also contribute to the affording a honey of a superior quality to that of all other countries. In general there is no soil more fertile than that of Egypt. This chapter ends with verses of several poets, on the charms and excellencies of the spring.

The twelfth chapter enumerates the produce of the taxes at different periods. According to the report of some catebs of the divan, the imposts of all Egypt in the year 1035, (1625) produced 1,800,000 dinars, of which 600,000 only had been sent to Constantinople; the rest served for the support of Mecca and Medina, and for the payment of the sandjacs and the troops. In this sum is not included the value of what the beglerbeg receives from the income of the military tenures, and of the presents of every description, camels, horses, mules, stuffs, and sugar.

In the thirteenth chapter the author treats of all that relates to the natural and œconomical history of Egypt.

We find in Egypt, horses, asses, and excellent mules. There are two kinds of horses peculiar to that province; the one called *safrani*, the other whose hair is of a cornelian colour. Studs was formerly erected, to whose support the funds of land had been appropriated, which annually produced 300,000 pieces of gold. The mines of Egypt are mines of gold and silver, a mine of emeralds higher

up than Afwan, mines of nitre, of allum and of *baram**; quarries of black marble in the mountain near Suez, yellow marble and red marble in Upper Egypt, and mines of grey and white salt: the latter called *sultani* is found in the environs of the lake Menzalé. Mines of natron are also seen in Egypt†: whatever is thrown into those mines, is converted into natron. After drawing from a pit several hundred weight, it continually fills itself up again, and no vestige can be perceived the next day, of the void made in it. These mines contain a kind of stone called *massawic*‡, that is, toothpicker, in the inside of which there is something which, if moved, produces a noise. These stones are an excellent preservative to women subject to miscarriages; it suffices that they carry any about them to escape those accidents: Thus they prevent the abortion of mares, and the untimeliness of the fruits of the palm tree. Lime stone (*selfidadj*§) are also found in a lake near Afwan; and at Okfor they make pottery of a peculiar earth called *fikaa*||.

* This the name of a stone drawn from the mountains of Upper Egypt, and of which they make kitchen utensils, kettles, and the like vessels. It hardens by the fire: I fancy it is the kind of stone, known by the name of serpentine.

† Forkal. Fl. Æg. p. xlv.

‡ Those are Eagles stones. Pocock's Travels, Book I. chap. ii.

§ This name is common to lime, to a kind of parget stone, and to ceruse or lead lime. It must be taken here in one of the first acceptations.

|| It seems to be a kind of clay. Descr. Æg. Abulfedæ, page 15.

That

That kind of wheat which they call *Joseph's wheat*, is peculiar to Egypt, as also the oil of turnips (*fidjel, rafanus sativus*) both sweet and hot, and that which is used in the composition of medicines. It also produces the speckled ebony (*ebnous ablak*) and the balm oil (*balsam, amyris opobalsamus*). It was at Aïnschems, particularly (Keliopolis) near Matera, that this tree was formerly found. On this the Christian kings set a great value, and ranked it among the number of the most precious things: there is no more at present in that canton, and that used for medicines comes from Hedjaz. Egypt furnishes opium also, which is an object of commerce; we find here the various coloured orange, and a species of red peach called Zehri. It is the only country where the sirup of honey is extracted, and it has always been one of the tributary acknowledgments which the governors were obliged to make to the vizirs and califs. We find in Egypt the mullet, a kind of fish known to the ancients under the name of *abermis*, and which is called to this day *bouri* (*mugil cephalus**). It is exported salted from Egypt, and is also one of the obligations imposed on the governors. There is likewise in that province the palm tree *berni*, the dates of which are gathered before their maturity. Wax and honey are better there than any where else. They make various kinds of cheese, and a vinegar of wine better than any one known. Egypt produces also lu-

* It is the fish, which are employed in the making of bortagos. Pocock's Travels, Book I. chap. iii.

pins (tirmis, *lupinus*), pease of a species peculiar to that country (djulban†); the summer melon, the melon abdali (bitikh abdelawi, *cucumis chate*); sugar canes during seven months of the year; the cassia (khiar schenbar, *cassia fistula*) of which the physicians recommend the use to give a softer discharge to the bile, the *scinc* (skinkour,) the ichneumon (nims, *viverra ichneumon*) and a kind of weasel named *ris*, which are both of great utility, as they eat up the vipers; lastly, the serpents which are employed in the composition of theriaca, and the wild ox, of whom a single limb is worth as much as a whole ox of another country. There are in Djauf some, from which seven hundred pounds of fat may be drawn. This fat is carried to Kolzom, Djidda, Eden, and to the coasts of China and of India, it serves to pay the ships. The giraf (zirâfâ) and the rhinoceros (kerkend) are also found in Egypt, as also a kind of wild cow, which may be milked, but is not fit for tillage. The acacia

* Some authors translate this name by that of pease of India, *Pisa Indica*. Mr. Forskal designs, under this name, a kind of trefoil, *trifolium melilotus diffusus*. I have followed the interpretation of that of our dictionaries, which I thought to be most correct. It may be that the Egyptians give also this name to a kind of trefoil: it is known that there is relation between these different plants. Pocock's Travels, Book IV. chap. iii. speak of a kind of vetch or pease, in use among the Egyptians: they call it *baum*. This word is not found in our author. It is perhaps the kind of pease he calls *himmiss* or *hom-moss*, and which I have rendered by chick pease.

(sount*), is also one of the productions of this country: it is a wood that burns without leaving any ashes; there is no harder wood, nor any that keeps up a longer fire: an hundred weight of this wood yields hardly a pound of ashes: it produces but very little smoak: they make a hard kind of coal out of it. Egypt is the only country where chickens are hatched in the dunghill. The sale of these chickens defrays every year the taxes of a most extensive canton, and they serve besides to maintain the inhabitants.

*Astrological, Astronomical, and Œconomical Calender,
of the Egyptians.*

The first month of the Egyptian year is Thoth. In this month it is not good to lay the foundation of a building; the twenty-first days are in no degree favourable to commerce; nor is it then proper to make long leases. They may avenge, with success, against their enemies during the first part, and of their neighbours in the second. It is in this month that they begin to raise flax, and to sew

* See Pocock's Travels, Book IV. chap. viii. the Egyptians call it *scont*. There is great room to believe that this kind of wood is that which the Scripture describes under the name of *Setim*, in Hebrew *Schittim*. The re-duplication of the *Teth*, in this word points out, as in several others, the absence of the *radical noun*. See Forskal Flora Ægypt. This learned man designs this shrub by the names of *mimosa nilotica*; the Arabian name is spelt, page 77 of his work, badly. This species is not found among the species of the *mimosa*, which he has given a description of in his sixth century.

lucerne, (berfim). The earth chops or breaks in all parts of Upper Egypt. The greatest crop of fresh dates is made in this month, and they are better than those at any other time. The species of pomegranites, named *seferdjel pyrusbadiensis*, and the winter raisin, are in abundance. This is the time for clarifying by the sun Oil of Sésame, and other liquors. There are great numbers of small fish, and the larger sort are fatter at this time than at other seasons. The first day of this month is the beginning of the year of the Cophtes; the fourth answers to the first of the month Elul; the seventh, olives are gathered; the twelfth, Venus enters the constellation *Sarfa*; the seventeenth is the feast of the cross; the eighteenth, the sun enters *Libra*, which is the first sign of the autumnal quarter; and the twenty-fifth, Venus enters the constellation *Awa*. They may yet bathe during this month in the cold water, but they ought to cease afterwards until the return of the summer. This is also the time when they begin to prepare food for the winter, such as that called *berissa*, and others of the like nature; likewise they make sirup of honey, which is only a composition of honey and water. They also choose this time for treating diseases of the reins and bladder.

The second month is *Paopi*. According to the opinion of philosophers, commerce is advantageous in the first third part of this month; in the two latter, merchandize is difficult to be sold. People ought not to contract bonds during this month; they

they ought also to avoid beginning a building in the first part, but there is no danger in doing it in the second. This month is good for fermenting liquors, to consume corrupt humours, and purge old men; it is favourable for marriage; the enmities which take their beginning at this time are of long duration. The fish named *benni* (*cyprinus*) and *abersnis*, at the same time fatten; the pomegranates (*rimman*, *punica granatum*) are now in the highest perfection; the roses begin to blow; the sheep, she-goats, and wild bulls, generate. They salt the fish *bouri*, prepare oil of myrrh, and that of niloufar, (*nymphæa lotus*). The time of budding now approaches. The sheep, the she-goats, and the bulls, become more temperate, but their flesh is not good to eat. The fourth of Paopi is the first of Tischrin-ewel; the eighth, Venus enters the constellation *Sémac*; the nights are then at the longest duration; the eighteenth, the sun enters Scorpio; the twenty-first, Venus enters the constellation *Gafra*.

The third month is named *Ator*. Philosophers choose the two first thirds of this month for laying the foundation of a building, undertaking expeditions, and contracting bonds, but they do none of these in the last third. They make choice of this time for marriages, and undertaking the treatment of humours produced by the wind, the hemorrhoids, melancholy, the gall, and insanity. They prohibit the use of the baths this month, and forbid children learning the first elements of writing and the occult sciences. After the middle of this month
they

they begin to sow wheat, and they continue sowing till part of the following month. The flesh of the sheep is good to eat. The narcissus (*nerdjes narcissus tazetta*) are plentiful; the violet (*benefsedj viola odora*) begins to blow; likewise a great number of other flowers, and the most part of culinary herbs, and in general all those which are watered; as the melongéne, (*badhindjan, solanum melongena*) and similar plants. The herbage of the meadow is then most abundant in the territory of Coufs. The fifth of this month is the first of Tifchrin-thani, and the same day Venus enters the constellation *Zubaniât*; the seventeenth, she enters *Iclil*; the eighteenth, the sun enters *Sagittarius*.

The fourth month named *Chöïac*, is proper for intrigues, and for all those enterprizes which require secrecy: it is not favourable for marriages, nor for designs of inferiors and slaves against their superiors and masters. The bean *abassi* (*bakilla*) begins to grow in this month: they then sow fennigreek, (*halbé trigonella fœcum græcum*), the lupine, and most sort of seeds. The first day of *Chöïac* is the beginning of the first of the quarantines in Egypt; the fifth is the first of Canoun-éwel; the thirteenth, Venus enters the constellation *Schaula*; the seventeenth, the sun enters Capricorn, which is the first of those of winter; the twenty-sixth, Venus enters the constellation *Naâim*; the twenty-ninth is the feast of Christmas.

The fifth month is named *Tebi*. The wise men will not travel in this month, but regard it as fatal.

The

The wind blows so fierce that life is often endangered: the green beans, (*bakilla*) are good to eat: they plant palm-trees, move the pastures of their horses, asses, and oxen: they begin to extract the sugar from the canes. The water is sweet and drinkable, and suffers no change in the vessels in which it is inclosed; it is the period for making provision for all the year; the fish *benni* (*cyprinus*) is good to eat; the fodder is good and purges the horses. The sixth is the first of Canoun-thani; the ninth, Venus enters the constellation *Beléda*; the tenth is the fast of the eve of Epiphany; the eleventh they celebrate the Epiphany; the seventeenth the sun enters Aquaries; the twenty-second, Venus enters the constellation *Saadoddhabik*.

The sixth month is called *Mikkir*. The philosophers consecrate it to study and travelling, and seek the assembly of wise men, and men of spirit. Masters ought to be on their guard against their slaves. The use of baths at this time is advantageous. They prepare the pitchers and vases of earth which serve to keep the water throughout the year. It hails more in this month than in any other; this is the time of planting trees and pruning vines: they yet keep the horses, asses, and oxen shut up. The fifth, Venus enters the constellation *Saadoboula*; the sixth is the first of Schebât; the sixteenth the sun enters Pisces; the eighteenth, Venus enters the constellation *Saadoffoud*.

In the seventh month, named *Faménot*, is the commencement of the spring. This is the time
that

that they may form societies with success, undertake perilous enterprises, and run some danger for distinguishing themselves and gaining honour. They ought also to choose this month for travelling, to procure the necessaries of life, and applying themselves to their business and occupation. It is good for taking medicines proper to procure evacuations. The society of young people are now more advantageous than of the old. The trees begin to be covered with leaves, and most part of the fruits are set on the trees. They sow the sesame (simsem, *sesamum indicum*) and pull up flax. The milk is abundant and wholesome. The first of Faménot, Venus enters the constellation *Akbbia*. The showry days, named *adjouz* and *bessum*, commence the fourteenth, and ends the twentieth; the fourteenth, Venus enters the constellation *Fargolmokaddem*; the sixteenth they navigate the sea of Roum, (the Mediterranean) and the sun enters Aries, which is the first sign of spring; the twenty-seventh, Venus enters the constellation *Fargolmoakbar*.

The eighth month is named Farmoudi: the philosophers then treat all kinds of diseases; they consecrate it to assemblies of pleasure, rendering reciprocal services, and restoring peace between those which were at variance; it is found to be proper for intrigues, cunning, and initiating young girls into the mysteries of love: they say that all their good actions have a happy success. It is in the month of Farmoudi they begin to collect their honey; they also gather their beans, (*bakilla*) pease, (*djulan*)

ban) and reddish feed; they beat the cods of flax for cleansing of its shell: there is at this time a large quantity of red roses, which are superior to those of other seasons. The sixth is the first of Nisan; the tenth, Venus enters the constellation *Refcha*; the seventeenth the sun enters Taurus; the twenty-third, Venus enters the constellation *Schar-tin*: it is the head of Aries, and the first house of the moon.

The ninth month is called Paschons. The wise men forbid, during this month, all kind of familiarity; they believe that the spirits were evil-disposed; they employ their cunning and stratagems, and prefer the commerce of old people to that of young ones. This month gives birth to many enmities, which are generally lasting. They at this time gather the apple, *kassëmi*, and those which are red and named *seroudi*; the melon, *abdali* and *kbazefi*; the muza, (*muza paradisiaca*;) the apricot, (*mischmisch*, *prunus Armeniaca*;) and the fruit of the fycamore, (*djummeiz*, *ficus sycomorus vera*;) they likewise have the red and white double rose; during the first part of the month they sow coriander, (*kosbura*, *coriandrum sativum*;) it is the time of the harvest of wheat and barley: at the end of the month they gather the apple named *schouba*, and they press the juice from the apples for making of cyder. The sixth of Paschons is the first of Iyyar; the same day Venus enters the constellation *Batin*; the eighth is the first of the Martyr; the eighteenth

the sun enters the sign Gemini; the nineteenth, Venus enters the constellation *Thoreya*.

The tenth month is named *Paoni*. The philosophers, during this month, affect outwardly an humble and submissive behaviour: they prescribe for the epilepsy, and make those who are sick wear the bone of the cramp-fish, (*riâda*) for protection against evil spirits. This is the time when the Nile begins to increase: they then gather the four grape, (*hisrim*) the fig *bouni*, the red peach named *rebri*, and the white known by the name of *moscher*; the pears *boutic* and *arfi*, the pruens, (*idjafs*) and the mulberries (*tout*). The green dates, named *balb ramekb* begin to appear. This is the period of the greatest collection of honey. There is now little wind, but much dust. Life is more pleasant at this time than any other: on the second, Venus enters the constellation Debaran; the 12th is the feast of St. Michael. It is in this night that the dew (*nokta*) falls; the 15th, Venus enters the constellation Haya; the 20th the sun enters Cancer, which is the first sign of summer; the 27th they publish the number of fingers that the Nile has increased till that time.

The eleventh month is named Epiphi. The wise men consecrated it to doing of good works; they assist the poor, and distribute great alms: they believe that God facilitates the payment of debts contracted in this month: they take the best advice for purging themselves, and procuring
evacuations:

evacuations: the peach at this time is very abundant: the figs are in their greatest perfection: the melons begin to lose their sweetness. This is the time for gathering the pear *succari*, and the dates named *balb ramekb*: they now finish collecting of honey. This month is the proper time for milling the cloths called *dibiki*: this is the crisis of the greatest increase of the Nile. The seventh is the first of Tammuz: the eleventh Venus enters the constellation Dhira; the twenty-first the sun enters Leo: the 25th, Venus enters the constellation Nethra: the twenty-sixth is the rising of the star *Scharialyemania*, (the Great Dog).

The name of the twelfth month is *Mesori*. This was according to the opinion of philosophers the proper time for travelling, and to make court to princes; they employ themselves in doing good to their inferiors, and avoid reviving their enmities. In the first part of this month they press the raisin, and particularly that which is intended to make vinegar; it is also the period of preparing the raisin jelly called *akid*: the waters now retire, the dates of the palm *berni* begin to appear: the fruit of the muza is now in its perfection. The taste of the fruit alters on account of the great humidity of the earth during winter. They plant the vine and most other trees. It is principally in this month that they make use of the enchantments of Mercury; the seventh, Venus enters the constellation Tarfa; the eighth is the first of Ab; the twentieth, Venus enters

enters the constellation Djebha; the twenty-first, the sun enters Vigo.

Of the Order and Manner of sowing in Egypt.

Iba Wakhfchia remarks, in his book intituled, *Alfelabat Alnabatia*, the agriculture of the Nabatheans, that in the year 806, (1403-4) the waters having withdrawn from a part of the pond of Faïoum, called at present the Sea of Joseph, it was sowed, and that it produced an extraordinary plentiful crop. Each faddan* of land yielded seventy-one ardabs of barley, Faïoum measure. The ardab of Faïoum contains nine wabias; at Cäiro the ardab contains but six.

At the time of the Fatimite califs, a faddan of corn paid three ardabs duty, but this tax was afterwards reduced to two ardabs. In the lowest ground of Egypt, they sow barley with wheat and other feeds: the lands having been watered, they begin to sow whilst they are still moist; and the sowing of barley precedes that of wheat, a few days. It is the same with carrots (*djezer daucus carota*); their sowing is made in the month of Farmoudi. The bean harati (foul harati), is sown at the beginning of Paopi; they eat it green in the month of Chojac. About three wabias of seed are requisite for each fadden; it is gathered ripe in Farmoudi: one fadden

* Lower down may be found an estimate of the faddan: the measure called Wabia is, I believe, the same which Mr. Niebuhr calls usehbeh. The first Volume of his Travels, page 119, affords some more light on this subject.

yielding about twenty ardabs. They sow the lentils (adefs *ervum lens*), and the chick pease (himmis *cicer arietinum*), in the month Ator, as also the spinage (elbanakh, *spinacie oleracia*), which continues sowing till Choïac. Pease are sown only on rising ground: they employ for sowing of one fadden, from an ardab to eight wabias of chick pease, from four wabias to an ardab of pease (djulban), and two wabias only of lentils. The lands which have been tilled several times are the best for the cultivation of flax; when this is gathered they cover it over with earth taken in the marshes. After having remained a long while in this state, they make bottoms of it called schodad, and leave it on the ground till it is dry; then they take it away to pluck the grain from it, called flax nuts: this grain yields a warm oil. Flax is sown in the month of Ator: about an ardab and a third is wanted for a faddan. The crop is gathered in the month Farmoudi: a faddan yielding about thirty bottoms, and of grain about six ardabs and a third. At present in Saïd, a faddan of flax pays between three and five pieces of gold duty; at Dilafs, it pays thirteen pieces of gold. The clover called *kort*, and whose seed is called *berfim*, is sown when the waters of the Nile begin to subside, but they must not defer sowing to the time the wind Merissi begins to blow: they begin to sow it in the month Paopi, and sometimes even at the beginning of the year: each faddan requires about two wabias and an half; it is gathered green at the end of Choïac.

They sow the onion, (bassal *allium cepa*) and the garlic (thoum *allium sativum*) from the month Ator to the middle of Choïac; they employ for one faddan from a sixth to one half a wabia of onions; it is in the month of Farmoudi they gather it: the onion destined for the production of the seed is sown from the beginning of Choïac to the end of Tobi; it requires an ardab of seed for a faddan; it is gathered in Farmoudi, and each faddan yields about twenty ardabs.

These are the species sown in the winter; those that are sown during the summer, are melons, cucumbers, and gourds; (bittikh, khiar, kara;) they are sown from the middle of Famenot to the middle of Farmoudi, in proportion of a fourth of a wabia for a faddan: the crop is made in the months of Epiphi and Mefori. They sow the cotton (kotn *gossypium herbaceum*) in the month of Farmoudi; they use for one faddan²² four wabias of seed; the crop is gathered in the month Thoth; a fadden producing eight hundred weight, or thereabouts, clear. They plant the sugar-cane (kassab succar, *sacharum officinarum*) in the middle of Famenot, the ground having been broken up seven times. The best cane is that which has been covered three times with water before the end of Paschons; an excellent ground is required for this plant, and which has been entirely covered by the waters of the Nile; some content themselves with plowing the ground six times. When they plant the canes each ought to have three whole buds; they make choice of those

those that are *least* open, and have a greater number of buds. After the cane is planted, that is from the beginning of the spring, they water it every sixth day; when it shoots, and begins to bear leaves, they must be cleared of the weeds which grow about them, and are a kind of rush, called (halfa, *arundo epigeios*) and the purslain, (redjlé, *portulaca oleracea*); when it is strong and thick, they water it eight times with buckets. They usually plant the sugar-cane along the river; when the Nile flows high, the cane is moistened by a stagnant water, until it has risen above the ground the height of a palm-tree, then they deprive it entirely of water. The cane will prosper better if it happens to be treated in the above-mentioned method; but if any of these precautions should be neglected, a part of it will be lost. Before the canes rise they must be covered with pitch to screen them from vermin. They break the cane in the month of Choïac; the remains of the canes must be burnt, and a second sprout will succeed, which is called *kbalfa*; the former is known by the name of *rafs*; this first crop is fit to be gathered in the month of Tobi; the latest it can be safely put to the press is the commencement of the new year. A faddan of cane produces between forty and fifty *ebloudje* of sugar-candy; what they call *ebloudje** goes also by the name of *makirât*.

* This word is either Turkish or Persian; it signifies, according to the dictionaries of Meninski, Richardson, &c. sugar-candy. He seems to design here a fixed measure; perhaps it answers to what we call a sugar-loaf, supposing there should exist no moulds of different sizes. Pocock's Travels, Book IV. Chap. viii.

The colocase (kolkas, *arum colocasa*) is sown at the same time the sugar-cane is planted; ten hundred weight of seed is required for one faddan; it is gathered in Ator. The melon seed is sown in the months of Famenot, Farmoudi, Paschons, and Paoni; and it may be gathered from Paoni till Mefori. The indigo plant (nilé *indigofera tinctoria*) is sown from Paschons to Epiphi; they take a wabia of feed for a faddan. The turnip may be sown at any time of the year; each faddan requires as much seed as may be contained in one of those vessels called *kadah*; it is gathered at the end of forty days. The lettuce (khafs, *lactuca sativa*) is sown in the month of Tobi; it is eaten at the end of two months: they sow their cabbages (kurumb, *brassica oleracea*) in the month of Thoth. The mallows*, (meloukia) and the ibiscus, (*bamia hibiscus*) are sown in the month Farmoudi; the grain of the gourd, when the sun enters the sign of the Ram; and they are gathered in the months Paschons, Paoni, and Epiphi.

As to what concerns trees, they plant the vine in the month of Mekhir, at the time of pruning; this is also the time of planting the fig-tree and apple-tree. The mulberry-tree is pruned in the month Farmoudi, and it is planted by slips; they plant likewise the almond, the peach, and the apricot trees by slips in the month Tobi. The articles that have been sown in winter, are taken up and transplanted

* Mr. Forskal translates this noun by that of *corchorus sativus*; according to our lexicons, it is the Greek word *μαλαχη*, *malva*.

in Tobi. The narcissus onion is put into ground in the month of Mefori: the jassimin is sown in the Epagomena, called *Nissi*, or in Mekhir: the myrtle (merfin, *myrtus brasiliensis*) is sown in the month Tobi, and is planted in that of Mekhir: the basilic (rifan, *ocimum basilicum*) is sown in Farmoudi: the winter gilliflower (menthour *cheiranthus chuis*) is sown in Tobi, and that of summer in Mekhir: the cassia tree is sown in the month Famenot.

The vines are pruned from the time the north wind begins to blow to the month Famenot when the buds begin to thrive; the pruning of the other trees happen in the months Tobi and Mekhir, except the willow-tree called *sidr**, which is the same as that called nabac, (*rhamnus nabeca*) which is pruned in the month Farmoudi. They water the trees *once* in Tobi; this watering is called *maolkayat*, that is, *water of life*; they are watered a second time in Mekhir, when the flower begins to appear: finally, in the month Famenot, they give them two waterings, which are the last, until the fruit begin to appear. In Paoni, Epiphi, and Merosi, they are watered once every week; in the months of Thoth and Paopi they content themselves with watering them *once* by laying the whole ground under water.

The measure of land in Egypt is by faddans: this measure consist of four hundred fakemite yards in length by one in breadth; the yard is about six dhira of government measure.

* Forsk. Fl. Æg. Ar. p. 204.

The fourteenth chapter treats of the canals and bridges which are built in that country. Here is what the author says of the canal of Caïro, called *the canal of the prince of the faithful*.

The canal of Caïro owes its origin to an ancient king of Egypt, named *Tarsis ben Malia*: it was under his reign that Abraham came into Egypt. This canal comes almost to the town of Rolfom, in passing near Suez, and the waters of the Nile discharge themselves at that place into the salt sea. The vessels, loaded with grain descended through this canal into the Arabian gulph, to the port of Jamboa, where they unloaded their merchandize for Mecca and Medina. Omar caused this canal to be cleared and restored, and it was called from that time *Khalidj emir Almoumenin*, the canal of the prince of the faithful. It continued in this state for about one hundred and fifty years, till the reign of the Abbasside khalif Aboudjafar Almanzor, who closed up the mouth of the canal in the sea of Kolzom. Nothing was left of it but what may still be seen at this day: they give it now the names of Khalidj Hakemi, Khalidj Allouloua, Khalidj Almorakkham, and several others.

The canal of Abou-menedja draws its name from a Jew, who was employed to open it under the reign of the sultan Alafdhah ben emir-adjloyoufch the Toulonid.

In the fifteenth chapter the author speaks of the wonders and antiquities of Egypt, and gives some detail

detail of the Nile. Here is what appeared to me worth extracting.

Among the curious monuments of Egypt, we must place that of the berbis* which are seen at Akhakhmim, at Enfena, at Coufs, on its territory at Aboufir, and at Semenoud. We see the figures of men and horsemen completely armed, and vessels of different sizes. It is said, that if anciently some foreign prince marched to make war in Egypt, they were warned by the moving of some of those figures. In the berbi of Semenoud, a multitude of figures and statues may be seen, among which are those of the ancient kings of the country. It is reported that a learned man remarked these figures of men, who wore on their heads ^{caps} ~~schafs~~, (caps) after the Arabian customs, and that under those figures, it could be read: *those will make the conquest of Egypt.* At Deudira in the Saïd, a berbi can be seen, in which there is a dome that has as many windows as there are days in the year. Each day the sun makes its

* By this name the Arabians call the ancient temples of the Egyptians; this word has puzzled several learned men. M. Michaelis has expounded it by a passage in the Travels of Pocock. This traveller speaks of a village situated three miles westward of Girge, called, says he, *Alberhi*, (the temple). But he seems to have been ignorant of the origin of this word, as were also the translators of the Arabian Geography, known by the name of *Geogr. Nubiensis*. It is a Coptic word, composed of the article Mascul. π or π , and of the word $\epsilon\pi\alpha\gamma\iota$, temple. It ought not to be surprising that the Arabians should express the letter ϕ by β : it has often the same pronunciation in the Egyptian language: they spell equally Barmoudi for Farmoudi. I have made use of Greek characters to supply the want of Egyptian.

entry by one of those windows, and it does not return before the same day in the following year.

The Nile is itself one of the greatest wonders of Egypt; it begins to rise in the month Paoni, and continues in the month of Epiphi and Mufori, and sometimes even to the end of Thoth. Formerly, when the overflowing attained the elevation of sixteen dhira, and the harvest was good, Egypt paid the whole tribute. The best elevation by which the whole country could be watered was that of seventeen dhira; when it came up to the eighteenth, one fourth part of Egypt was totally drowned, which was prejudicial to some districts. At this time, on the contrary, the elevation is insufficient, 'till the waters attain three-and-twenty dhira, because of the raising of the lands, and because the sluices are not exactly shut. Ebn Zoulac remarks, that each of these measures (dhira) to the twelfth, is eight-and-twenty fingers, but above the twelfth they are only twenty-four fingers. When the water rises to nine dhira, it makes its way into the canal of Menhi, and in those of Favium and Serdous.

The sixteenth chapter has for object the nilometres or mikias, constructed in several places of Egypt, but it contains no description of these edifices.

In the seventeenth chapter the author treats particularly of the two principal mosques of Cairo Djame-alazhar and Djame-alhakem: we find the date of their construction, and the names of those who have contributed to the reparation, or the embellishment of these buildings.

The

The eighteenth chapter has for object the general excellencies of Egypt over all other countries: the whole of this chapter contains nothing remarkable, or that is not to be met with in some other part of his work.

The nineteenth chapter is divided into forty-eight paragraphs: it contains several details on all remarkable places of Caïro; of the ancient misr of Djirdee and of Boulac; of the mosques, the birkets or ponds; the tombs and other public or private monuments. We find some remarks on the temperature of the climate; of the character of the inhabitants; their feasts, customs, commerce, manufactures; in fine, all that can attract attention, or claim the curiosity of a stranger. The observations contained in this chapter cannot be indifferent to a traveller, who should wish to compare the actual state of Caïro and the environs, to that in which the town stood at the time of the author; but they are not of the same value with respect to those who have not those objects in view; I shall therefore content myself with extracting some particularities.

In the fifteenth paragraph we find the detail of the ceremonies which anciently accompanied the opening of the sluice of the great canal. When the elevation of the Nile reaches sixteen dhira, they begin to open the sluices to introduce the water on the land, and into all the canals of Egypt; that day is a festival. Formerly, before they had dug the canal Hakemi, the opening was made at the canal

Khalidj

Khalidj aleantara; there was in this place a turret in which the khalif or the prince placed himself for the opening of the canal. This day being arrived, the sultan or his lieutenant went out of the castle on horseback, and repaired to the ancient Misr, on the shore of the Nile, at the place called *Darelnobas*, where he alighted. He found two boats, both decorated with the name of the sultan, and set off with various ornaments; he entered with the most distinguished persons of his retinue in the first of these boats called *barraka*; the other, which wore the name of *dkabbia*, was for the rest of his train. At the same place a vast number of other barks of different sizes were ready, and sumptuously decorated for the reception of the emirs and officers to which they belong. The boat of the sultan, attended by all the others, repaired to the island of Roudha: this island, situated over against Misrelatik, between the great arm of the river and that which passes at the foot of this city, was filled with houses and palaces. The sultan having landed on this island, re-mounted on horseback, and presented himself at the nilometer placed in the middle of the bed of the river; he entered it with his attendants, and scattered saffron steeped with musk and rose-water, and after having said his prayers, a magnificent repast was served before him. The repast being over, the boat was drawn near to the grate of the nilometer, which was covered with its gilt hangings; he entered it, and returned with all the other boats that had accompanied

panied him, with the sound of cannon and musical instruments. Arriving near Mifir, he caused his boat to be conveyed towards the mouth of the canal which enters Caïro. On his whole route by land as well as on the river, in going and returning, he threw about golden pieces, and distributed to the people fruits, confectionary, and such like. The sluice he was to direct to be opened was a kind of earthen wall raised opposite the bridge. The sultan, or he that represented him, gave the signal with a napkin to the people charged to open them, who held shovels in their hand; immediately they fell to work on the sluice, which was thrown down in an instant: the sultan remounted his horse and returned to his castle. Since Egypt has been under the Ottoman sceptre, it is the beglerbeg who discharges this ceremony; he comes out of the citadel in the morning, and repairs to Boulac, where he finds boats ornamented and prepared for him, and for the emirs and sandjacs opposite to the arsenal. He sails attended by all the barks, and during that time a great number of cannons are discharged: the beglerbeg goes up the river to the nilometer, in the island of Roudha; that happens when the elevation still wants twenty fingers of sixteen dhira, and he remains in the nilometer until it reaches this degree of height; if the elevation goes on slowly, he continues there one or two days after this term. Mean while boats are prepared, they expose those figures which the people call *aroufs*, (or betrothed) and which they set up with care,

care, and they give themselves up to all kinds of plays and diversions. On the day when the beglerbeg is to preside at the opening of the sluices, he gives, before sun rise, a great banquet to the sandjacs, to the tschaoufchs, to the mutefarrakas, and to other troops in the garrison: after the repast, he distributes castans to the caschef, to the scheikh of the Arabians of Djidze, to the intendant of provisions, and to several other officers of the military and police. He then enters the boats with all his attendants, repairs to the sluice with the beat of drums, which he orders to be opened, and passes through the opening on his return to the castle.

In the twenty-sixth paragraph the author remarks, that the emir Caracousch-alassedi, who had the superintendence of the public buildings under the reign of Saladin, destroyed a part of the pyramids of Djidze, to re-establish the bridges of that city, the walls of Caïro, of Misr-elatik, and those who are between that city and the castle built on the mountain.

In the twenty-seventh paragraph he discourses about the preparation of the leaves of hemp, of which the Egyptians make use to deliver themselves of a kind of intoxication*; it is chiefly near the bridge called the *new bridge*, (cantara djedida) that those meet who make use of it; it is also called for this reason *cantarat-albaschaisch*. They begun,

* See Gol. Lex. at the word Naschisch. Travels of Pocock, Book IV. chap. v. Diët. of Meninski, at the word Bendj; and Flora. La Egypt. Arab. of Forskal p. 55 and 67.

says our author, to know this plant in Egypt only towards the end of the sixth, or the beginning of the seventh century of the Hegira; it was the scheikh Karendal who first made known its properties. This plant goes by several names, almost to eighty different ones; among others they give it that of *zib* and *karendalia*, because of the scheikh Karendal. It is prepared in several ways; one consists in baking the leaves of the hemp, and threshing them until they have taken the consistence of a plaister; next they are crushed in water, and when they approach to the preparation of hinna*, they are fit for use. The author relates several singular effects of the alienation of mind † caused by the use of this plant, but among the facts he relates, there are some which I do not think worth credit.

At the twenty-ninth paragraph he makes mention of the pond called *Birket-arrotli*. The name of this birket comes, says our author, from a workman who fabricated weights of iron, (*rotli*) and whose dwelling was near this spot. Feast and diversions are given at the time it is filled up by the waters of the river; a multitude of boats go up and down, and afford the most delightful prospect to the houses that lie dispersed round it; when it has dried, they

* A kind of *cypress*; a plant which the Arabians make use of to paint their nails, or other parts of the body.

† He calls this intoxication *infital* and *ifital*, and those that are affected by it *masfoul*, pl. *masatil*. These words, whose root *fatal* is not known to us, seems to signify, after the expressions of the author, the state of a man, who knows neither what he is saying or doing.

low flax and trefoil. Formerly they gave, at the first day of Thoth, a ridiculous farce, which represented the marriage of the canal Haferi, with this birket that received the water of the Nile through this canal; an act was drawn up in presence of a man dressed in the habit of a cadhi, and in the presence of two witnesses, at the beginning of the eighth century of the Hegira.

The forty-first and forty-second paragraphs have for object the police established at Caïro; even in night time there is no danger from thieves; the streets and the places are always crowding with a multitude of people; the whole town is lighted at night-time by two rows of lights on the right and left side, in all the places and streets of the city. This custom dates its beginning from 835, (1431-2.)

In the twentieth and last chapter the author treats of Alexandria, its origin, revolutions, pharos, and of the other stupendous works; on all these matters he does but copy the fables which are to be found in every Arabian author.

*Governors of Egypt for the Khalifs, from the conquest
of Amrou-ben-alâs, to that of the Fatemites.*

Names of the
Khalifs.

G O V E R N O R S .

- Omar. Amrou ben alâs was nominated to the government of Egypt, after he had conquered that province the twentieth year of the hegira, and quitted his government in the year A. H. 25 A. D. 645-6
- Abdallah ben Saad, died at Afcalon, in the month Redjeb 35—Jan. 656
- Othman. Kaïs ben Saad, died a short time after.
- Ali. Mohammed ben Aboubecr alfid-dik, killed by Moavia, in 38—658-9
- Moavia. Amrou ben alâs, for the second time, he died in - 42—662-3
- Akaba ben Amer, to whom succeeded in the year - 45—665-6
- Moslema ben Mokhalled; who died in - - - 62—681-2
- Yézid. Saad ben Yézid elazdi, who has for successor, in the month of Red-jeb - - - 69—688-9

Abdallah ben Zoubair, usurper of Egypt, and of several other provinces, after the death of Yézid.

Abderrahman ben Atba, deposed by the khalif Merwan, in 75—694-5

The

Names of the
Khalifs.

GOVERNORS.

Merwan.

The khalif Merwan gives the government of Egypt to his son Abdalaziz ben Merwan, to whom succeeds in - - - 96—714-5

Abdelmélîc.

Abdallah ben Abdelmélîc ben Merwan, he had for successor,

Wélid.

Korra ben Schérik,
Abdelmélîc ben Réfaâ.

Omar ben Abdalaziz.

Ayoub ben Scharhabil, deposed in - - - 101—719-20

Yézid ben Abdelmélîc.

Baschar ben Safwân alkelbi.

Scharhabil Khantala ben Safwân, to whom succeeded, in 104—722-3

Mohammed ben Abdelmélîc ben Merwan, deposed in 105—723-4

Hescham ben Abdelmélîc.

Alharr ben Youffouf ben Yahya, had for successor, in 108—726-7

Hafs ben Alwélid alhadhrami, to whom succeeded, in 109—727-8

Abdelmélîc ben Refaâ, governor for the second time, who died the same year.

Alwélid ben Refaâ, died in 118—

- - - 737

Abderrahman ben Khaled, deposed in - - - 119—737

Khantala

Names of the
Khalifs.

GOVERNORS.

Hescham ben Khantala ben Safwân, nominated
Abdelmêlic. for the second time to the govern-
ment of Egypt, he had for succeſ-
ſor, in - - - 124—741-2

Hafs ben Alwêlid, who had al-
ready governed that province; the
following year - 125—742-3

Wêlid ben Yé- Iſſa ben Abou Ata ſucceeded him,
zid. and had for ſucceſſor, in 126—743-4

Merwan ben. Haſſan ben Atahiya
Mohammed.

Hafs ben Alwelid, nominated for
the third time to this government in
the year 128, (745-6) had for ſuc-
ceſſor

Ebn Sohail aladjlani, who was de-
poſed in - - - 131—748-9

Almogäira ben Abdallah who ſuc-
ceeded him, and died the ſame year.

Mouſſa was the laſt governor of
Egypt under the khalifs Ommiades,
to whom ſucceeded in the year 132—
(749-50) the khalifs Abaſſides.

Note. Schemſeddin ſays, that the governors nominated by
the Ommiades are in number twenty-fix; we find but twenty-
five here. But we do not find in this liſt Mouſſa ben Nowäir,
who governed Egypt under the khalifat of Abdelmêlic.

Abbaſſides.

Salch ben Ali ben Abdallah ben
abbas.

Names of the
Khalifs.

GOVERNORS.

Aboulabbas
alfaffâh.

Abouawn Abdelmêlic ben Yézid.

Mouffa ben Caab.

Mohammed ben Afchhath alkho-
zaï.

Hamid ben Kahtaba.

Yézid ben Hatem, died in 152—

- - - - 769-70

Almanfor.

Abdallah ben Abderrahman, died

in - - - - 155—771-2

Mohammed, , died in 156—

- - - - 772-3

Mouffa ben Ali, fucceeded
in - - - - 159—775-6Almahdi ben
Almanfor.Abou dhomra Mohammed ben
Salman.Mouffa ben Ali, a second time de-
posed in - - - - 160—776-7

Iffa ben Locman, to 162—778-9

Wadheh.

Manfour ben Yézid, to 163—

- - - - 779-80

Aboufaleh Yahya, deposed in 164

- - - - 780-1

Aboukotaïfa Ismaïl, deposed in
165 - - - - 781-2

Ibrahim

Names of the
Khalifs.

GOVERNORS.

Ibrahim ben Saleh, deposed in
167 - - - - - 783-4

Motreb, killed in the month Scha-
wal, 168 - - - - - May 785

Alfadh1 ben Saleh, deposed in 169
- - - - - 785-6

Hadi. Ali ben Soleïman alabbassi, to
which he succeeded in 170—786-7

Haroun Mouffa ben Issa, deposed in 172—
arraschid. - - - - - 788-9

Mosséma Yahya.

Mohammed ben Zohair, deposed
in - - - - - 173—789-90

Dawoud ben Yézid, deposed in
175 - - - - - 791-2

Moussa ben Issa, for the second
time.

Ibrahim ben Saleh, for the second
time.

he had for successor, 177—793-4
Omar ben Mahran.

Ibrahim ben Saleh, named for the
third time, this same year, governor
of Egypt, died almost immediately;
he had for successor,

Abdallah ben Zohair.

Names of the
Khalifs.

G O V E R N O R S.

Ishak ben Soleïman, deposed in
178 - - - 794-5

Harthéman ben Aayan.

Abdelmélîc ben Saleh, deposed in
179 - - - 795-6

Obaïdallah ben Almahdi, and brother
of the khalif Haroun arraschid.

Moussa ben Issa, for the third
time, deposed in the year 180—
- - - - - 796-7

Obaïdallah ben Almihipidi, for the
second time, deposed in 181—797-8

Ismaïl ben Saleh, to the year 182—
- - - - - 798-9

Allaïth ben Abfadhl, to 187—
- - - - - 802-3

Almed ben Ismaïl, to 189—804-5

Abdallah ben Mohammed alab-
bassi

Alhassan ben Djemil alazdi, de-
posed in 190 - - - 805-6

Alhadhib ben Abdalhamid, de-
posed in 191 - - - 806-7

Alhassan ben Djemil, to 192—
- - - - - 807-8

Malec

Names of the
Khalifs.

GOVERNORS.

Malec ben Dalhem, deposed the
same year

Alhaffan ben Altahtah, deposed in
194 - - - - - 809-10

Alamin.

Hatem ben Harthama ben Aayan,
to 195 - - - - - 810-1

Djaber ben Alaschhath, deposed
in 196 - - - - - 811-2

Almamoun.

Harthama ben Aayan, nominated
governor of Egypt, established to
govern there in his name

Abad ben Mohammed, to 198—
- - - - - 813-4

Almotleb ben Abdallah alkhozaï.

Alabbas ben Mouffa alabbaffi, de-
posed in 199 - - - - - 814-5

Almotleb, for the second time,
deposed in the same year.

Alforri ben Alhacam, died in 204
- - - - - 819-20

Mohammed ben Alforri, died in
206 - - - - - 821-2

Ebn Alforri, brother of Moham-
med, was dispossessed by Abdallah
ben Taher, who appointed as gover-
nor of Egypt in his name, in the
year 211 - - - - - 826-7

Names of the
Khalifs.

GOVERNORS.

Ibrahim whom he dispossessed, and
to whom he gave for successor in
212 - - - - - 827-8

Iffa ben Yézid aldjéloudi. Al-
mamoun having driven from the go-
vernment of Egypt Abdallah ben
Taher, he gave it, together with
Syria, to his brother Aboulifhak al-
motasssem; the latter nominated to
govern Egypt,

Kender, who died in 219—834-5

Almodhaffar, son of Kender, suc-
ceeded him, and died in 220—835-6

Almotasssem.

Mouffa ben Aboulabbas alschami,
deposed in - - - 224—838-9

Malec ben Kender, to the year
226 - - - - - 840-1

Aschnas, died in 228 842-3

Ali ben Yahya alarméni, deposed
in 229 - - - - - 843-4

Wathek.

Iffa ben Mansour,

Almotéwekkel. Anah, deposed in 233 847-8

Almontéser ben Almotéwekkel,
to 241 - - - - - 855-6

Yézid ben Abdallah, in the name
of Almontéser, deposed in 252—

- - - - - 866-7

Mozahem

Names of the
Khalifs.

GOVERNORS.

Almotazz. Mozahem ben Khacan, died in
254 - - - - - - 868
Ahmed ben Mozahem.

Ahmed ben Touloun, nominated to the government of Egypt, rendered himself independent, and was the chief of the dynasty of Toulounides. After the extinction of this dynasty, in the month Safar 292, (Jan. 904) Egypt returned under the dominion of the khalifs, and had for governor,

Almoctafi. Issa Alnouchéri, who died in the
month of Schaban 297 Apr. 910

Almoctader. Mekni Almotadhédi, deposed in
302 - - - - - - 914-5

Aboulhassan Zéki alawar alroumi,
died the second of Rebialewe, 307—
- - - - 2d of Aug. 919

Mekni, for the second time: after him, Ikhfchid took possession of Egypt, and received in 324, (935-6) the investiture of the khalif Radhi; he was the author of the dynasty of the Ikhfchidites, which was put an end to by the Fatimites.

Instructions given to Moreau de Wissant, Chamberlain; Peter Roger de Lyssac, Master of the Household of the Duke of Anjou; and Theobald Hocie, or Hocre, Secretary to the King, sent by Loys I. Duke of Anjou, to Henry King of Castile, respecting the Kingdoms of Majorca and Minorca, and the Counties of Roussillon and of Cerdagne, possessed by the King of Arragon, with the answers of the King of Castile.*

Relation of the Embassy of Arnold d'Espagne, Lord of Montefpan, Seneschalæ of Carcassone; Raymond Bernard le Flamenc, and Jehan Forest, sent by Loys Duke of Anjou, to Henry King of Castile, and John I. King of Portugal, touching the Kingdoms of Mailorque and of Minorca; in the Month of January 1377.

Relation of the Embassy of Migon de Rochefort, Lord de la Pomerade, and of William Gayan, Counsellors of the Duke of Anjou, sent into Sardinia by Loys I. Duke of Anjou, to judge of Arborea, to conclude an Alliance with that Prince against the King of Arragon, in the Month of August, 1378.

Taken from the Manuscript in the King's Library, No. 8448, Folio, in Calf, lettered on the back "EMBASSIES." No. 22, of the Manuscripts of Baluze.

By M. GAILLARD.

THESE different negociations, all relative to the same objects, are so much the more worthy of our notice, as they appear to have been little known to historians. Dom Vaissette had however

* In the room of P. R. de Lyssac, John of Bergnetes chamberlain to the king, was substituted.

know-

knowledge of them, and speaks of them, but very concisely in the fourth volume of his "General History of Languedoc," pages 358, 360, 364, 366. The Balearic islands, or the islands of Majorca and Minorca, which in 799, had surrendered to Charlemagne, had both before and since that period, been many times taken, lost, and retaken, by the Saracens; when the king of Arragon, James I. conquered Majorca from them in 1229, and Minorca in 1232. Roussillon and Cerdagne had been long united to the crown of Arragon. James I. by his will, left these different estates to James his second son, who formed the branch of the kings of Majorca. There were five successive monarchs of this younger branch of the house of Arragon, in the space of a century, from 1270 to 1375. The elder branch that reigned in Arragon, and this younger branch that reigned in Majorca, were almost always rivals and enemies, whether because the elder beheld with pain the partition that had been made in favour of the younger branch, or whether it was for other political reasons. The kings of Majorca were more than once deposed by the kings of Arragon. James I. king of Majorca, had been so by Alphonfus III. king of Arrogan, his nephew; but on the death of this prince, in 1291, he was restored. James II. king of Majorca, his grandson, was likewise dispossessed in 1343, by Peter IV. called the Ceremonious, king of Arragon, his brother-in-law; and having in 1349, attempted to recover his dominions, he was defeated in battle the 26th of October, and perished.

James

James III. his son, was wounded, and made prisoner in the same battle: he remained twelve years in captivity; at last he escaped from his prison, in 1362. He was the third husband of the celebrated Joan I. queen of Naples, who was pleased to bestow a crown on him, an unfortunate prince, and an illustrious adventurer. When du Guesclin, in 1366, conducted into Spain *the great companies* to dethrone Peter the Cruel king of Castile, the king of Majorca passed also into Spain, and went to serve under Peter the Cruel, the constant enemy of the king of Arragon, in hopes that the war would afford him an opportunity to return to his kingdom of Majorca. He was again made prisoner. Joan of Naples, his consort, immediately ransomed him; he might afterwards have reigned peaceably with her, but he chose rather to continue wandering from country to country, ever neglecting a crown within his reach, to run after another that always escaped him. He died in 1375.

He left by his will all his title to the kingdoms of Majorca and Minorca, to Isabella of Arragon, his sister, wife of John Paleologus, marquis of Montferrat.

This title remained intire. “The two last kings,” says our Manuscript, “lost their lives in pursuing their valid and just claim upon it by deeds and arms, without having made any renunciation, act, composition, or treaty whatsoever, to the prejudice of their claim.”

The

The last king had given by an act during his life, the county of Rouffillon to Lewis I. duke of Anjou, and he had confirmed this donation by his will.

The Marchioness of Montferrat, his sister, ceded and made over all her rights to the kingdoms of Minorca and Majorca, to the county of Cerdagne, and as much as in her lay, to the county of Rouffillon, to this same Louis of Anjou; our Manuscript ascribes three different motives for these donations and concessions.

First, *The effects, profits, and honours*, which the last king of Majorca had recieved from the duke of Anjou. Second, the *family relation* which existed between the marchioness of Montferrat and the duke of Anjou; and third, certain large considerations as well in lands as in sums of money, which the duke had given to the said lady, in compensation of the said assignment.

The duke of Anjou, who is here mentioned, was the second son of John king of France, and brother of Charles the Wise. It is he who was regent of France during the minority of Charles VI. his nephew, and who having been called to the kingdom of Naples, by this same Joan, widow of the last king of Minorca, did not arrive to her assistance in time, and died miserably in 1384, in his expedition to Naples; he was the head of the second branch of Anjou, who were never able to establish themselves on this foreign throne.

It appears that this prince's ambition was always to procure an establishment out of France, and to raise himself to the rank of a king: it was during the reign of Charles, his brother, that he acquired the title to the kingdom of Majorca, and that he endeavoured to render it effectual.

He easily foresaw that the king of Arragon, who had been long in possession of these estates, would not consent to resign them, and would pay no more respect to the claim of a foreign purchaser, than he had to the hereditary right of his brother-in-law and nephew.

It was by force then, that the duke of Anjou designed to gain possession of the estates and dominions that had been ceded to him "by the consent, and with the will of the king, who is pleased, out of his benign favour, to heed and esteem the act as his own; and, with the help of God, Monf. d'Anjou has an intention, and proposes to pursue his claim, first by mild and friendly measures; and if by these he cannot succeed, by way of deeds and arms, in the most quick, expeditious, powerful, and efficacious manner he is able."

Having need of allies to carry on his design, he first addressed himself to the king of Castile, the natural enemy of Arragon, by his situation alone, and who had besides the most intimate connection with France.

This king of Castile was Henry de Transamare, who, by the protection of Charles V. the money of France, and the arms of du Guesdin, had been recently

cently seated twice on the throne of Castile, in which he was now established by the death of Peter the Cruel.

Henry, either through gratitude or necessity, was faithful to his alliance with France; on this the duke of Anjou founded his application and hopes: he asks of the king of Castile counsel and assistance; he will do nothing without his advice; he prays him to direct him in his enterprize, to trace the plan of it; from his hands he expects to receive allies and friends; he enjoins him, he prays him, to make a good use of the friendly dispositions towards him; to procure him assistance from the other sovereigns of Europe, particularly the kings of Portugal and Navarre. He flatters him, he praises him, he presses on his remembrance, that, for his very great virtues, and personal valour, he had chosen him for brother, and his particular and especial friend, which seems to us to mean, *the fellowship in arms*, formerly so common: he adds, that *he has put his trust and firm hope in him, above all the kings and princes of the world, next to the king, his very redoubted lord and brother.*

It is the interest of Castile, and particularly of Henry, that the duke of Anjou should succeed in his enterprize, and make a conquest of those estates which have been ceded to him. First, this conquest will in the same degree diminish the power of a neighbouring enemy, ambitious and dangerous, at whose expence it will be made. Secondly, Henry will acquire, a neighbouring friend, always ready from gratitude, from interest, for every reason, and by

by every method, in the time of need, to furnish him with every succour he may desire, and which a vicinity will enable him to do. He calls to his remembrance, not as services for which he asks a reward, but as proof of an unequivocal friendship, all he had done to second the expedition of Henry and du Guesclin into Castile; he had bestowed on them, *favour, counsel, and aid*; had permitted a passage through his government of Languedoc; had furnished money: and when Don Pedro, driven from Castile, had come to Guienne, to ask assistance of the Black Prince, and when the latter assembled his troops to restore Don Pedro to Castile, *Monsieur counteracted the said prince and king Peter with all his power, and caused his people to fight at the Ville Dieu, to hinder the said prince's enterprize; it was attended with great expence to Monsieur, and to the kingdom of France, which amounted to more than three millions.*

Henry defeated in his turn by the Black Prince, and by Don Pedro, at the battle of Navarrette, the third of April 1367, had retired to the duke of Anjou, who had received him with every kind of honour, had given him the queen of Castile for wife, and the castle of Pierre Pertuise, on the confines of Roussillon, and of the diocese of Narbonne, as an habitation to his children; and seeing the mercenary troops of Henry ready to abandon him for want of pay, he retained them in the service of France, and had employed them in the war of Guienne, with a view to draw the prince of Wales thither,

thither, and to make a diversion: the prince of Wales, to have his revenge, had sent troops into Anjou, who had there taken many cities, and done damage to the duke and his subjects to the amount of more than four millions.

Afterwards, when Henry returned to Spain under more favourable circumstances, the duke of Anjou again gave him a passage, covered his march, and caused him to be accompanied by his bravest cavaliers.

Since Henry had mounted the throne of Spain by the assistance of Charles V. and the good offices of the duke of Anjou, this last prince had never ceased giving him proofs of his friendship; the year before also, he had sent to the same king of Arragon, now his enemy, some ministers, in the number of which was Thibaut Hocre, whom he had sent at that time to the king of Castile. The object of this embassy of the preceding year had been to persuade him from making war against Henry, *which was an embassy of great expence to Monsieur.*

In consideration of so many marks of attachment, of so many proofs of friendship, the duke of Anjou prays the king of Castile, as king Charles V. himself also intreats him, and affectionately requires by his letters,

First, Not to make any alliance with the king of Arragon, his sons, or his allies.

Secondly, That if the said duke shall determine in council, to cause the said king of Arragon to be summoned, by letters or messages, to do him justice,

or

or to restore his kingdoms, countries, and lands, beforementioned; that the said king of Castile will also cause him to be summoned, and require him, by solemn messengers, as often as Monsieur d'Anjou shall give him notice: and if the said king of Arragon shall be backward to do justice to the said Monsieur d'Anjou, and to render and restore to him his own, that the said king of Castile shall, in his own name, send a defiance to the said king of Arragon, as his assistant and ally, and shall make war on him in chief, and shall cause the said war to be proclaimed through all his kingdom.

Thirdly and lastly. In case he should join battle, or undertake any siege of importance, or do any notable feat of arms, he demands an assistance of three thousand men at arms, one thousand gentlemen, and a thousand cross-bowmen, *for a third or a fourth part of the year, if the duke shall require it; and all these aids the said king of Castile shall give the said Monsieur, at his own proper charge, trouble, and expence, without the said king of Castile making any demand on Monsieur, the duke, for the same.*

The king of Castile answers in the most satisfactory manner to most of the articles of the demand; he promises not to make any alliance, either with the king of Arragon, his sons, nor his allies, but in concert with the king of France and duke of Anjou; he consents to join these princes in the demands they should make on the king of Arragon, and to make and declare war against him, both by sea and land. He consents also to negotiate

with the kings of Portugal and Navarre, to engage them in the common cause: he thinks he can answer for the king of Navarre, *and we justly think he has good inclination to do this; for he has always told us, that he desired much to do all things which should be for the honour of the king of France, and of our said brother.* But let us observe that the king of Navarre was Charles the Bad, on whose word it was very imprudent to depend.

The most delicate article, and which was attended with the greatest difficulties, is that which concerns the three thousand men at arms, the thousand gene-raises, and the bow-men, to be furnished in a certain case. The king of Castile observes, in that respect, that he is actually at war with England: in fact, the duke of Lancaster, one of the sons of Edw. III. having espoused Constance, eldest daughter of Peter the Cruel, had taken the title of king of Castile, and was endeavouring to assert his right. He was still at war with the greater part of the Moorish kings, and he observes, that the king of Grenada would not omit falling on Castile, as soon as he should see him embarrassed. He also makes another remark not less important: "Know also the said duke, our brother, (says he) that the day we shall begin the war against the king of Arragon, we shall have immediate employment for two thousand lances to station on the frontiers, which extend more than one hundred and twenty leagues along the frontiers of the kingdom of Arragon; and these two thousand lances we must first station there, in
order

order to guard our country from injury, and that they may make war continually on Arragon; these must every day receive their pay."

In the like conjuncture, the king of Castile contents himself with promising the duke of Anjou generally, to furnish him *such aid as ought to be satisfactory to him*. "If he should succeed in concluding a peace, or a truce of some length with England, in that case, *it is our pleasure*, (says he) that when the said duke shall do any of the three things contained in the said article, (that is to say, join battle, undertake any important siege, or any notable feat of arms) to assist him with one thousand men at arms, payed at our expence for three months."

But Henry de Transamere, much more anxious to prevent this war between France and Arragon, than attentive to furnish his allies with forces which he stood in need of for his own affairs, concluded by offering his mediation between the king of Arragon and the duke of Anjou; he desires the latter to send ambassadors to him, with sufficient powers to conclude a treaty, relative to the estates and dominions which he claims; he also desires him to inform him of the precise situation of the negotiations which must have been entered into on these affairs.

The duke of Anjou answers these questions in a very affectionate dispatch; and here follows, in substance, the recital he makes to Henry of what had

passed between France and Arragon respecting his claim.

“ The king of Arragon, pressed by the king of France to do justice to the duke of Anjou, as to his claim and demands, answered by his ambassadors, that the marchioness of Montserrat had not any title to the estates claimed, and consequently could not dispose of any by donation, sale, cession, or conveyance; in support of these pretensions, the ambassadors did not alledge any will or other instrument, nor produce the certificate of the existence thereof. The duke of Anjou continuing to maintain that the king of Arragon had no title, but a violent usurpation, Charles V. proposed to submit the affair to the arbitration of the pope and cardinals; (the pope was then at Avignon). The king of Arragon consented to all; they settled the time at which the plenipotentiaries were to meet at Avignon; the duke of Anjou sent his plenipotentiaries; the king of Arragon was in no hurry to send his, and fifteen days elapsed, after the time appointed, before any one appeared on his part. At last his ambassadors arrived, but without any power: they declared that they would not submit *the judgment of their cause either to the pope or any others*, but that they would willingly communicate, in a friendly manner, their titles to the pope and cardinals. The examination of their respective titles was entered into before the pope and cardinals. This pope was Gregory XI. who removed the Holy See from
Avignon

Avignon to Rome. In haste to depart for Italy, he could not determine this affair, but directed the cardinal Therouenne to bring about a treaty between France and Arragon: the duke of Anjou offered either to abide by the arbitration of the pope and cardinals, either at Rome or Avignon, or to submit himself to the decision of Charles V. or of the king of Castile, or of that king of Hungary, Lewis, who was then so famous: *and the said cardinal was of opinion, that we submitted ourselves as far as we could, and as far as we or any other person could do.* The cardinal went to Barcelona, to carry the king of Arragon these propositions, which he thought so reasonable. The king of Arragon did not think them so; he declared he would not submit either to litigation, or to compromise a title so certain as his; but if the duke of Anjou would come to Narbonne, he would come to Perpignon, and these two cities being only a day's journey from each other, the cardinal mediator might easily confer with the two parties. The king of Arragon did not come to Perpignon; he contented himself with sending thither his son, the duke de Gironne, on whom he said he had conferred all his authority, and given him unlimited powers. These powers, so extensive, did not however permit him to grant any thing, and to every proposition made by the cardinal, the duke de Gironne was obliged to write to his father, and wait for his answers from Barcelona: these answers were always evasive; instead of the estates demanded of him, he offered money:

first, to one hundred thousand florins, afterwards five hundred thousand, and at other times two hundred thousand, and then one hundred thousand, without keeping to one proposal. The treaty therefore was abandoned, and cardinal de Therouenne returned to Avignon. The king of Arragon then required that the negociations should be renewed: he assured them he was in the best disposition, and that they should perceive it by the more advantageous offers which he had to make: he accused the first negociators at the court of Avignon of too little zeal for the success of that affair; that he ought to send new ones to the same court of Avignon, and required that the duke of Anjou should also send them on his part. The duke, notwithstanding so many proofs of bad faith in the king of Arragon, sent thither, on the appointed day, to avoid the reproach of having refused peace; but as he had foreseen, the king of Arragon wanted only to gain time: his ambassadors had no power to grant any thing, nor even to treat, *but only so far as to bear and report.* The said king has thus lead us on for two years and more, and we have not found either truth or loyalty in him; yet out of respect to the prayer of the king of Castile, the duke of Anjou consents to new negociations, although he does not hope any thing from them, and that he expects nothing but new delays and new evasions on the part of the king of Arragon; *but I would rather,* says he to Henry, *that the business was finished, and was brought to conclusion, and to effect, by you, than by*
any

any other king in the world, except my lord the king; since we have more affection and confidence in you, as we also trust you have in us, rather in any other, after my lord the king, and for no other prince in the world, except my lord the king." This dispatch was dated at Thoulouse, Nov. 29, 1376.

The second embassy announced in the title, was sent by the same duke of Anjou, to the same Henry, king of Castile, and to John I. king of Portugal; the ambassadors were Arnaut d'Espagne, lord of Montespán, seneschal of Carcassone, of Raymond; Bernard le Flamenc, and of John Forest. The relation of this embassy was in Latin; here is an extract from it:

"The ambassadors left Thoulouse the 26th of January, 1376. They arrived the 30th, at the court of the count de Foix, when they brought over, or found him brought over, to the party of the duke of Anjou, who promised to assist him as much as was in his power, if the treaty could not be concluded, and if it was necessary to have recourse to arms against the king of Arragon. They arrived the 3d of February at Pampeluna; the king of Navarre made there a thousand offers of service, whether in negociations or in war, and declared to them, in speaking of the duke of Anjou, that he was ready to do every thing for him, which he expressed in a very singular manner; *et plus sibi faceret et serviret quam Deo*. This king of Navarre, as we have already said, was Charles the Bad; he appeared

so zealous in the cause, as to be willing to take upon himself the mediation; but the ambassadors, in loading him with thanks, declared that the king of Castile was in possession of that mediation, and their orders were to proceed to treat under his eyes, and by his means. They departed from Pampe-luna the 6th of February; they found near Burgos, a lord Ferrand, Fernand or Ferdinand du Guastes, *dominum Petrum Ferrandi de Valbasto*, so powerful, that they had credentials for him: he answered as the count de Foix and king of Navarre had done, by promising every service that could depend on him. His answer is dated the 10th of February. The 11th the ambassadors continued their journey. As they advanced into the dominions of the king of Castile, they learned that this prince, whom they had hoped to find at Burgos or Valladolid, was gone by way of Cordova and Seville, and that he might be already arrived at Toledo. They dispatched a courier to him to make him acquainted with their arrival, and to ask his instructions; the courier in fact overtook him at Toledo; the king contented himself with a verbal answer by the courier, that his health required him to make a voyage to Seville; but that the ambassadors would find at Toledo, the infant of Castile, his eldest son, in whom he desired they would place the same confidence as they would have in himself. They received this answer the 18th of February, and on the 19th arrived at Toledo, where they found the infant and his council, to whom they made known the
the

the rights of the duke of Anjou to the kingdom of Minorca, and the counties of Roussillon and de Cerdagne, and recounted all that had been done in support of these rights. The infant declared that the king his father, as soon as he knew of their arrival, had notified the same to the king of Arragon, and he desired they would wait for the Arragonian ambassador, who could not be more than twelve days before he arrived. They ought to have arrived before us, according to the letters of the king of Castile, replied the French ambassadors; we are not come here to attend them: these are the ordinary subterfuges of the king of Arragon; we are used to them, and we know them again; and they talked of retiring. The infant of Castile had espoused the daughter of that king, and had a desire to reconcile his father-in-law to the king of France, and the duke of Anjou. He represented that the ambassadors of Arragon could not fail to arrive immediately, and very affectionately pressed the French negociators to consent to stay, out of reverence to God, and love for the king of Castile his father: *ob reverentiam Dei, et amorem domini regis Castellæ ejus genitoris*. He had good hope to conclude a treaty favourable to the two opponents, and advantageous to all christianity; but if he perceived that the king of Arragon sought to amuse or use artifice, the bonds of attachment which held him to that prince, should not prevent him from declaring himself warmly for the duke of Anjou, nor from assisting

ing

ing him with all the forces of the king his father." They resolved to wait.

During this time, the archbishop of Toledo, chief of the infant's council, required, for his instruction, as he said, a copy of all that had been said and done in that affair at the pope's tribunal in Avignon. The French ambassadors replied, that the duke of Anjou's title was so clear, that he would willingly shew it to all the world: *videbat quod omnes homines mundi scirent et viderant suum jus*. On the morrow, the copy the archbishop required was delivered to him; Feb. the 22d he sent to the ambassadors, to say he wished to speak to them, and when they were come, he confessed to them, there was a point that gave him some trouble, or at least afforded some doubt; it was, that it appeared that James II. king of Majorca, father of the marquis of Montferrat, had acknowledged that he held in fee, his kingdom of Majorca from the king of Arragon, and that afterwards, having become guilty of felony, by carrying arms against his sovereign, he had incurred a forfeiture. The ambassadors replied that, saving respect, the affair was not as the archbishop had conceived it: *quod salvâ sui gratiâ non erat ita ut sibi datum fuerat intelligi*; that the kingdom of Majorca, had never been a fief of the crown of Arragon; that James I. king of Arragon, the conqueror of Majorca, in dividing his estates between his two sons, and giving to the youngest the kingdom of Majorca, had expressly ordered that this kingdom, and

and that of Arragon, should be independant of each other; *ordi navit et inibuit quod dicta regni nullo mado sub mitterantur unum alteri*; that the kings of Arragon and Majorca had made, at different times, according to circumstances, different treaties, containing the respective stipulations and obligations, more or less advantageous, according to the turn of their affairs and their successes; but that no dependence, no vassalage, of the kingdom of Minorca, to that of Arragon, could ever be inferred. The French negotiators went farther; they urged that, though even James II. forced by circumstances, should have consented to degrade his crown of Majorca by some act of homage, he would not have been empowered to do it, because of the express prohibition contained in the original and constitutional act, to which strict attention ought constantly to be observed. The archbishop of Toledo could not withstand these arguments; he answered, *quòd cer suum, quod antea erat obscurum, nunc est clarificatum propter evidentes rationes et responsiones sibi dictas, et ad oculum ostensas*,

The 25th of February, the French ambassadors departed to visit the king of Castile at Cordova, as the infant had suggested to them, the better to support the delays which he foresaw they would be exposed to on the part of the king of Arragon. The Arragonians not being arrived at the end of twelve days, the king of Castile requested of the French a new delay of a fortnight; but as they expressed their apprehension of incurring their master's dis-

displeasure, Henry took upon himself to apologize for them to the duke of Anjou. He left Cordova and went to Seville, whither the French ambassadors attended him.

The 20th of March, further complaints were made on their part, for not having heard any thing of the king of Arragon; the king of Castile confessed that their complaints were but just, but he demanded eight days more.

The 28th, the same complaints: "Well, (said the king of Castile, in a voice the most affectionate) the wrongs of the king of Arragon only add confirmation to your right; but for heaven's sake, once more eight days for last and final delay: *pro ultimâ et finali dilatione sive expectatione.*"

The 5th of April the French ambassadors resolved to take their leave, with the consent of the king of Castile, (who agreed with them, respecting the bad faith and ill disposition, of the king of Arragon,) and claimed the succour which had been promised to them for the war of Arragon, which was now unavoidable. But France and Castile were jointly carrying on hostilities against England. This was the excuse of Henry: I cannot at once continue the war to England, and take upon me another in Spain. If the duke of Anjou desires me to assist him against Arragon, let him prevail on the king, his brother, to dispense with the succour I am bound by treaty to furnish him against the English. The French negociators did not reply, and in fact Charles the Wise, far more concerned
in

in the expulsion of the English from France, then in the settling his brother in Majorca, requested him, as will be seen afterwards, to defer the war with Arragon, till such time as that with England should be terminated.

But what am I to say to the Arragonian ambassadors, if they arrive after your departure? said Henry. Here the French ambassadors spoke of a treaty which had been proposed by the cardinal de Therouenne, which imported that the son of the duke of Anjou should marry the daughter of the duke of Gironne, to whom the countries in dispute should be given as a dower, together with fifteen hundred thousand livres. As the contracting parties were both in their infancy, the duke of Anjou did not particularly relish this proposal, and the ambassadors did not believe him disposed to accept it, insinuating, that if yet he should ever give his consent to it, it was solely in consideration of the king of Castile. This would be a very important contract, said Henry, but I doubt whether the king of Arragon will ever be brought to ratify it. I have heard some loose hints about an offer of six hundred thousand florins, for which he might engage himself. What shall I say then, if, persisting in keeping the lands, he should propose nothing but money?—That the duke of Anjou was not willing to sacrifice lands, neither for one million, nor one and an half.—O replied Henry, he will never be sufficiently rich to make a similar offer;—and he would make it in vain; therefore let us speak
no

no longer of it. I see too plainly, that the duke of Anjou will never set matters aright with the king of Arragon: *quòd dictus dominus dux alias non haberet rationem suam de rege Arragonum nisi cum bassineto in capite.* The ambassadors took their leave.

The sixth of April they departed for Portugal, and arrived the 15th at Santaren, on the Tagus, where the court was then sitting. Their embassy had its success; they found the king of Portugal disposed to unite his arms with the duke of Anjou against Arragon.

But whilst they were still at Santaren, they received letters from the king of Castile, in which he announced them that he had received an answer from the king of Arragon, eight days after their departure from Seville; he requested them to pass through Castile on their return, where the infant would then communicate this answer. They left Santaren the second of May, and arrived the twelfth at Valladolid, where the infant of Castile communicated to them the letters of the king of Arragon, who asserted, that he had entrusted the archbishop of Saragossa, his chancellor, with this affair, whose love for peace, and talent of reconciling interests, to the mutual satisfaction of the respective parties, he was well acquainted with. The infant of Castile represented that it was no more than six day's journey from Valladolid to Saragossa; he was going to send a courier to the archbishop, to invite him to confer and treat with the French ambassadors;

dors; he asked them no more than the requisite time for the archbishop's arrival. The ambassadors consented to a delay of twenty days, at the lapse of which, the infant of Castile having no report about the archbishop of Saragossa, nor even the courier who had been dispatched to him, and who was, in all probability, retained to gain time, the ambassadors took the infant as witness of the evident perfidy of that king, and conjured him to persevere in his alliance with France, notwithstanding the ties that united him to this faithless and perjurious prince; the infant promised it; and the ambassadors took their leave on the ninth of June.

In the mean while the negociations continued between the king and the infant of Castile with the king of Arragon, for we find an answer returned the ninth of December, 1378, by the duke of Anjou, to the proposals which the infant of Castile had made him. The king of Arragon had at last sent ambassadors to treat with the infant of Castile, on the affair of the kingdom of Majorca, and on the demand of the duke of Anjou; the marriage of the son of the duke of Anjou with the daughter of the duke of Gironne was brought anew upon the carpet. The duke of Anjou answered, that this proposal seemed to him becoming, but that he did not understand that this marriage should debar him of his rights, and he was ready to subscribe to it, provided a fair compensation be made to him for those his rights.

The

The infant required that the ambassadors should be sent again on the part of the duke of Anjou, since the king of Arragon had manifested a resolute desire to send others on his part; the duke of Anjou reminded him of the inutility of the frequent embassies and conferences sent and held on that subject at the court of Charles V. at that of Avignon; at first before the pope and the cardinals, and then with the cardinal of Therounne, and again at the court of the king of Castile, and the infant himself; and inferring from the past to the future, and from the dispositions of the king of Arragon by his interests, he did no longer think it becoming his dignity to expose his ambassadors to farther delays, circumventions, and subterfuges; but that he reposed an unlimited confidence in the friendship of the infant, and in his protection of his interests and rights, notwithstanding the title of a brother-in-law, which he bore to the king of Arragon; that he trusted in this friendship with as much unreservedness as in that of the dauphin, his own nephew: *habet et semper habuit plenum et singularem fiduciam qualem posset habere de serenissimo principe domino Delphino Viennensi, ne pote suo.*

It is observable, that he gives, throughout this writing, the same title of nephew to the infant of Castile; we cannot impute this to any other relation then that of the confraternity of arms, which subsisted, as we have observed, between the king of Castile and the duke of Anjou; for it does nowhere appear that the infant of Castile had been
a real

a real nephew to the duke of Anjou: either by the duke of Anjou's having married a sister of the king of Castile, or the king of Castile's having taken a sister of the duke of Anjou in marriage; and the infant, as it has been hinted in sundry places, had espoused the daughter of the king of Arragon.

This king of Navarre, who had shewn so much forwardness for the interest of the king of France, in speaking to the ambassadors, had now attempted, about the same time, to poison Charles V; the plot being detected, his accomplices had been arrested, convicted by their own confession, and executed in the public markets at Paris; at the same time he treated with the English about delivering into their hands all the places the king was still master of in Normandy. The king of France and the king of Castile united to punish him for such perfidiousness; the infant of Castile conquered almost all Navarre; the duke of Anjou congratulates him in the same letter on his valour, good conduct, and on his prudence, superior to his age, by which he had signalized himself in that expedition; he exhorts him to prosecute and complete his conquest, without entering on any terms of accommodation with this odious prince; *qui nunquam tenuit juramentum nec promissionem quam fecerit cum et nequissimus ille rex aliud nunquam cogitaverit quam bella suscitare, vicinos dampnificare, populos quietos et pacem foventes commovere, et est credendum quod adhuc si posset, deteriora faceret.*

The duke of Anjou informs the infant of the conquests the king had made on his side over the king of Navarre; he had taken away from him all his places of Normandy, except Cherburgh, where the Navarians and English were actually besieged by the French. He does not speak of the conquest of Montpellier, which he had made himself from the king of Navarre, because the infant must have received early notice of it on account of its vicinity.

In general, the duke of Anjou, in this dispatch, shews much less animosity against the king of Arragon, his direct enemy, but who, after all, is but like most conquerors, willing to retain and keep his conquest, than against the king of Navarre, whose attempts, more recent and more criminal, must have excited a greater indignation. We see this prince more inclined to enter into an accommodation with the king of Arragon, and that, drawn on by events, he relaxed in his project of recovering Majorca, and other places in dispute, from that prince by force. We shall see some of the reasons of this relaxation in the relation of the third embassy expressed in the title, and which precedes some months the dispatch we have given an account of.

This embassy is of the month of August, 1378, that is, it begins at that epocha. It was composed of Migon de Rochefort, lord of Pomerède, and of William Gayan, counsellors of the duke of Anjou, who sends them to Sardinia, to Hugh, judge.

judge of Arborea, to contract an alliance with him against the king of Arragon.

We shall first investigate who this judge of Arborea was, whose alliance is courted by great and powerful princes, who send him embassies, and even ask of him (as we shall see) his daughter in marriage. The historians of Italy and Spain acquaint us with a house of Arborea, a Sardinian family, whose rights have passed by marriage into the houses of Doria and Narbonne-Lara. That house in all probability derived its name from Arborea, an ancient city of the island of Sardinia, which is thought the same as Oristagni, which was in fact the residence of the judges of Arborea.

About the middle of the twelfth century, when the Pisans and Genoese, after having wrested from the Saracens the island of Sardinia, disputed among themselves the possession, Barissone, of the house of Arborea, availed himself of their divisions to make himself king of Sardinia. He brought over to his interest the emperor Frederick Barbarossa, receiving from him the investiture of this kingdom, and submitting to an annual tribute. Frederick consented, on this condition, to his being crowned king of Sardinia; he proved unable however to maintain his post: it was his daughter that espoused an Andrew Doria. Sardinia was again shared between the Genoese and the Pisans; the kings of Arragon made themselves masters of it towards the end of the thirteenth century, by virtue of the concessions of the popes; but the lords of the house of Ar-

borea, under the title of *judges* and of *princes*, (no longer of kings,) valiantly defended their country against these foreign usurpers: towards the middle of the fourteenth century, Mariano, judge and prince of Arborea, made a successful war against the same Peter IV. called the *Ceremonious*, king of Arragon, the enemy of the duke of Anjou; he died about the year 1376. Hugh, his son, is this judge of Arborea, to whom the duke of Anjou sent this embassy in 1378: he was the twenty-second judge and prince of Arborea: the titles he took upon him were; *Hugh, by the grace of God, judge and prince of Arborea, count of Gofiano, viscount of Bosa*. It was Beatrice, his sister, who by her marriage with Amaury III. viscount of Narbonne, carried into the house of Narbonne-Lara, the rights of the house of Arborea; and the first-born of that branch of Narbonne bore afterwards the title of *judge and prince of Arborea*.

Hugh continued his war with glory against the king of Arragon; this is the motive which engages the duke of Anjou to court his alliance. This embassy of 1378, was not the first he had sent him; he had already opened a treaty with him, which came not to execution, as may be seen by an abstract of the relation of this embassy of 1378.

The ambassadors departed the 5th of August from Avignon; the 23d from Marfeilles; and after a voyage which was not without dangers, as the pirates continually infested the Mediterranean; they arrived the 28th at the port of Bosa, in Sardinia, whence

whence they sent to Oristagni, the ordinary residence of the judge of Arborea, to announce to him their arrival. It was too late, when they arrived, to enter the city of Bosa; the podestà and the ancients declared to them, that it was impossible to introduce them into the city; and that the prohibition of the judge of Arborea was too explicit to admit of infraction upon any pretence whatever; that the fear from the Catalonian corsairs, who cruised unceasingly in that latitude to annoy the inhabitants of Sardinia, rendered this precaution necessary. The thirtieth they arrived at Oristagni, where the guards shut the gates before them, declaring that they could not be received without an express order from the judge of Arborea. The gate being opened more than an hour afterwards, they entered and went to an inn, where, towards the evening, an officer of justice, named *Don Pal*, accompanied by four mace-bearers, and about twenty men armed with swords, came to receive, and lead them to the audience of the prince or judge; they found him reclining on a kind of small bed, having half-boots of white leather, after the Sardinian custom, *more Sardico* on his feet; both the room and the bed were naked of all kinds of ornaments: *nullis paramentis in camerâ seu lecto parvulo existentibus*. He had with him a bishop, his chancellor, whom he desired to withdraw: this judge of Arborea was an intrepid, wild islander, who knew little of the politicks of our European princes, who looked upon a treaty as a sacred engagement, who did not know

that there were some made by way of precaution and all hazards, and on the execution of which nobody relies, but after the turn of interests and circumstances; that treaties are made on one side with friends to obtain succours against enemies, and on the other with enemies to do without the succours of friends, and to be dispensed from furnishing them. The duke of Anjou had made some promises in former treaties which he did not keep; the judge of Arborea severely upbraided the ambassadors with it: "I am very much dissatisfied with your master;" (said he to them) "he is a perjured man; he has not kept his word. Is it not unbecoming, that the son of a king should fail in his promises and oaths? He has hurt me; he drew from my island, by virtue of our alliance, the cross-bow-men and other warriors I wanted myself; he has no ways employed them for our common service, and he has been the cause that I could not push the war against the king of Arragon with that vigour I would otherwise have done. He treated with him whilst he was allying himself to me. That king of Arragon has also sent me ambassadors to treat for peace; I did not even admit them to my sight. I do not understand treating with my enemies, to the prejudice of my friends."

The ambassadors, somewhat disconcerted at a tone they had been so little accustomed to, answered, that their instructions contained answers satisfactory to these objections. "Well," said he,
 "let

“ let me have a copy of it then, as also of your powers; I shall give you my answer in a few words, and I shall dispatch you in a short time.”

We find here these instructions in Latin and French; their contents are as follows:

“ The duke of Anjou had formerly sent to the judge of Arborea an embassy, composed of Messrs. Gillaume Mauvinet and Pierre Gilbert. These ambassadors had concluded with the judge of Arborea a treaty of alliance, which the duke of Anjou had ratified *for the sake and honour of the said lord judge, though fraught with some hard articles: amore et honore dictæ domini judicis, licet in eisdem essent articuli bene onerantes.* These ambassadors returned from Sardinia, had informed him, that the judge of Arborea ought also to send to him in his turn, the more to cement those alliances; the same had been confirmed by some Genoese merchants. The duke of Anjou expected these ambassadors from Sardinia, and this was one of the reasons why he deferred this second embassy, which he sent in 1378. He also assigned as reasons for this delay: First, The negociations entered at Bruges, for the peace between France and England; negociations whose issue he waited, the more freely and vigorously to prosecute the affairs of Arragon, the object of his alliance with the judge of Arborea. Secondly, The negociations which the king of Castile had obliged him to permit him to open conferences with the king of Arragon on objects of the duke's demands; negociations which the duke would never

have carried on so far with the king of Arragon, without the judge of Arborea; but of which he wished to draw the effect which has actually resulted, that of interesting the kings of Castile and Portugal in the common cause. This was what he wanted himself to be able to announce to the judge of Arborea, before he sent him this second embassy.

If he had not yet begun the war against the Aragonians, these negotiations of the king of Castile were in great part the cause; but, beside that, the king of France, his brother, had requested him to engage in that war, as long as that with the English should subsist. Obligated to obey his king, and to serve his brother, the duke of Anjou had been taken up last year with conquering a part of Guyenne from the English; and the king of Navarre having since seconded the enemies of the state, by his crimes and treasons, the duke of Anjou had been employed this year in dispossessing him of Montpellier and its dependencies; but that it was resolved at length, whatever might be the consequence, to begin the war against the king of Arragon, in 1380. If he took so long a term, it was the better to prepare himself; but he was ready to abridge it, and begin the war the very next year, 1379, if the judge of Arborea should wish it.

Lastly, he announced to him as his friend and ally, that a son had been born to him the 7th of October, in the interval of the two embassies, and offered him that son for his daughter. He did
not

not conceal, that the king of Castile had asked him for the daughter of the duke of Gironna, son to the king of Arragon, and that he intended to make this marriage the pledge of the reconciliation of the duke of Anjou with the king of Arragon. Several other powerful princes had asked of him his son for their daughters ; but that it was to the judge of Arborea he gave the preference. In fact, the new ambassadors were vested with powers, not only to confirm and renew the alliances, but also to contract this marriage. A proposal like this would have, in all appearances, flattered a petty prince, who was not even comprized in the catalogue of the European princes, and whom the kings of Arragon regarded as an adventurer, and as a rebel : it did not move him at all. He answered, “ This
“ proposal is only a new imposture, and is in
“ itself but a mere derision and mockery ; my
“ daughter is marriageable ; your son is not yet
“ one year old. I mean to marry my daughter
“ in my life-time, and to see her offspring, which
“ will procure me joy and comfort, and not to
“ expect winds which are to blow hereafter, & *non*
“ *expectare futuros ventos.*” As to the other proposals contained in the instructions of the new ambassadors, he replied to the following purport :

“ I have given order, that the new ambassadors
“ should be shewn the articles stipulated and sworn
“ to by the former, in the presence of the people,
“ in the cathedral of Oristagni, that they may
“ have cognizance of the damages and interests,
“ to

“ to which the duke of Anjou has submitted him-
“ self, in case of retraction. I shall know how, in
“ proper time and place, to vindicate these da-
“ mages and interest, and to prepare for him the
“ punishment which he has incurred. I have seen
“ his false and frivolous new offers, of entering into
“ war with Arragon, with whom he may have, or
“ may not have any war; it matters not to me.
“ Let every one transact his affairs after a better
“ example. The Arragonians and Catalans are
“ my enemies; I have made war on them these
“ twelve years, like my father, without any help,
“ but that of God and the blessed Virgin, in pro-
“ tection of my right, and that of my subjects;
“ I shall continue it without any other assistance.
“ I deceive no body, and I am never twice de-
“ ceived. I want neither the duke of Anjou, who
“ having once shewn himself perfidious, must be
“ supposed always so; nor of any other power.
“ Let princes deceive one another, since this sport
“ answers their purpose, I wish the alliance of none; I
“ am sufficient alone for my defence and my revenge.
“ Bid then the duke of Anjou not to ally with me,
“ or, to give an infant for a husband to my daugh-
“ ter; but to seek how to compensate for the detri-
“ ment done me by his breach of the treaty;
“ otherwise I shall make my complaints, and claim
“ justice of all princes, and in the face of all
“ the universe; not to implore their succour, but
“ exhibit this prince such as he is, and that all po-
“ tentates

“tentates of the earth may know how he insults
“the sacredness of treaties.”

The answer terminated by these words : *Et hæc
est responsio dicti domini judicis.*

To this answer was added a letter addressed to
the duke of Anjou. “I have seen your ambassa-
“dors ; they have acquainted me with your frivo-
“lous excuses. I have caused my answer to be
“delivered to them, and I have taken the precau-
“tion to have the whole registered in my chan-
“cery.”

To a sharp answer the judge of Arborea added
also a sharp conduct towards the ambassadors. The
latter having delivered their papers to the judge,
quietly waited his answer at the episcopal palace,
where the judge had assigned them apartments,
and very honourable treatment. On Wednesday
the last of August, two mace-bearers, and two ser-
jeants, or servants *servientes*, armed with swords, and
in the prince’s livery, came to tell them, in the
language of the country, *in eorum sardisco*, that my
lord the judge ordered them to come to him.
When they came into the great court of the palace,
they found it filled with an immense number of
people ; in the midst of which they could distin-
guish a bishop, a cordelier, surrounded by other
cordeliers, a multitude of priests and monks, and
many servants in the prince’s livery. The ambaf-
sadors wished to get out of the crowd, and, as they
had done the evening before, went into a small
inner

inner court, which led to the judges chamber : the door was shut suddenly against them, and they were obliged to wait in the outer court, mixed among the crowd. The door at last opened; and they saw the bishop-chancellor appear, holding a paper in his hand, and attended by a notary and secretary, who had also papers. There was also with them Don Pal, the officer of the palace ; who, the evening before, had introduced the ambassadors into the judges chamber, the podestat, and attending upon them a great number of mace-bearers, sergeants, and other servants of the judge. The bishop raising his voice, so as to be heard by the whole assembly, called out, in the language of the country, *in eorum fardisco*, " Good people, (*bona gentes*) " the judge has called you hither, to acquaint you " with the fickle disposition and unfaithfulness of " the duke of Anjou, in presence of these ambaf- " sadors, who are equally capable with you, to " make a comparison between the past and the " present. Here is the treaty which you have " heard the former ambassadors swear solemnly to " the execution of, in the church of St. Mary. It " is possible these new ambassadors are ignorant " of this ; therefore we are willing to read it in " your presence. Here also are the recent dis- " patches of the duke of Anjou, brought by these " new ambassadors, which contains a formal con- " fession of the breach of the treaty, with new " promises, which only contain new falsehoods."

This

This was the answer which the judge made to such deceit.

At the same time he caused to be read, or read himself, all these documents, which he commented upon, to aggravate the injuries done by the duke of Anjou, and to make the infidelity they reproached him with, appear more conspicuous : then turning to the ambassadors, he told them, on behalf of the judge of Arborea, that they must quit that country, and retire on board their ships ; and that it was thus the judge dismissed them. *People of our character ought not to be treated in this manner*, replied the ambassadors : they requested also of the chancellor a copy of the judge's answer, and permission to see him to take their leave. *Wait a moment*, said the bishop, and he went to receive Hugh's answer. Don Pal, who went with him, returned in a moment after, and told them they could not see the judge ; but they might return to dine at the palace, and wait his orders. They dined sorrowfully, *mæsti et dolentes modicum pransi fuerunt* ; and after dinner, which this account calls *prandium possimum*, not hearing any thing, they sent some of the most distinguished persons of their retinue twice to Don Pal, again to ask permission to see the judge : the first time they could not even procure an interview with Don Pal ; the second time they saw him, and received a definitive answer, " that the judge would not see the ambassadors again." All kinds of affronts were put upon them, either by the judge's order ; or, as
the

the people thought, they were fulfilling his wish; they withheld the provisions they had laid in for their support, and which they had justly paid for: they stopped their baggage at the gate of the town, and searched it very narrowly, to see if they had no secret or suspicious papers; but they had taken proper precautions in that respect.

The same Wednesday, the 13th of August, the ambassadors being on board their ships, Francis Pisani came from the judge of Arborea, to bring them a copy of his answer, which had been read in the assembly of the people, and his letter addressed to the duke of Anjou.

Their return to France was not without danger; above all they were fearful of meeting with some Catalan vessels. The ships which brought the ambassadors, had been hired at Marseilles; the captain was of that place. The Provençals, then subject to queen Jane I. of Naples, were at peace with the people of Arragon and Catalonia. This removed one danger. The ship put into a port in the gulph of Algery, to take in water, ten miles from that place: Algery, and that part of Sardinia, belonged to Arragon. A bark arrived, bearing the flag of Marseilles; many people came from on board her; among others, a consul, resident at Algery, for the Marseillians and Provençals. They went on board the ambassador's ship, and addressing themselves to the master, said, they were sent by the governor of Algery, who was surprized, considering

dering the friendship which subsisted between the Provençals and Catalans, that the master had not applied to him for refreshments ; he therefore prevented him, by sending them to make the offer.

“ We are well provided with every thing,” said the master ; and to convince them of it, he treated them with excellent wine, in silver vessels, and began to drink with them. Thus drinking and talking, they asked him, in a friendly manner, where he came from ? “ I came,” says he, “ from cruising for some Sarracin cruisers, who have been plundering in the sea of Marseilles.”—“ Oh, no !” replied one of those who were sent from Algery, “ you are returning from France, and have on board two French ambassadors.” He then told him all their names, surnames, titles, and qualities. “ The governor of Algery,” added he, “ is well informed of it, and is not a little uneasy. How can you be so imprudent as to engage yourself here in an Arragonian port ? Take my advice ; do not stay here any longer ; you will not be safe.”—The patron, who was a man of spirit, *qui magnanimus existerat alto corde*, replied, “ Do you advise me so ?” “ Well, then, what you say is true. I have the French ambassadors on board my ship ; I design to land them safe and sound at Marseilles. I do not fear the governor of Algery ; let him do the worst he can ; *faciat pejus quod facere poterit*. I will not depart from hence before to-morrow morning. I will sup, I will sleep here ; if they

“ wake

“ wake me, they must take the consequence, and
“ know, that there is not in the port of Marseilles
“ a single vessel, which (saving the allegiance due
“ to our sovereign), is not at the service of the
“ duke of Anjou.”

After this discourse they went away ; the master remained, as he had said he would, and did not sail until next morning. The name of this brave man was John Caffé.

The ambassadors, in the other part of the passage, met with violent tempests, which strained their ship so much that she leaked in every part, and every one expected to perish. They went into port and caulked her. They were scarcely at sea again, when they saw two vessels (corsairs), who chased them, but their ship being the best sailer, escaped.

They did not arrive at Marseilles until the 16th of September. They were indebted to the master one thousand and seventy-five livres for passage, a sum they were not in possession of ; they therefore offered him pledges. The generous Caffé refused them, and would take no other security than their promise, and the patronage of the duke of Anjou. They arrived the 18th at Avignon, where they remained some time, and it was not till the 11th of October that they could send to the duke of Anjou, at Thoulouse, the answer and the letter of the judge of Arborea, and to render an account of the bad success of their embassy.

This

This is all this manuscript furnishes us with relative to the claim of the duke of Anjou, on the kingdom of Majorca, and the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne. It seems as if this affair was given up, the duke having always been employed about other objects more pressing; the war against England was prolonged; Charles V. died in 1380, and the duke of Anjou became regent of the kingdom of Francis. His being afterwards adopted by Jane of Naples, carried him to Italy, where he died; and the usurpation of the king of Arragon seems confirmed by length of time.

This was the result of a multitude of pieces, of which we have only mentioned the three principal in the title. We think to give our readers a proper idea of this manuscript, we ought to present them with a kind of inventory of all the pieces, in the order they stand in it.

The first of these pieces is without a title, this is not entirely foreign to the business we have just been speaking of, but which has only an indirect and distant reference. It is the marriage contract, in Latin, of Blanch of Bourbon with Peter the Cruel, king of Castile, brother and predecessor of Henry of Transamare.

The second are the instructions given to the first ambassadors, by Henry king of Castile. This is the first piece mentioned in the title.

The third has for title, *The Causes and Motions which the Messengers of my Lord the Duke may make*

use of to the King of Castile, to induce him to condescend to the prayer and request of my Lord the Duke.

The fourth is the answer of Henry king of Castile to the request of the duke of Anjou.

The fifth, a letter of the duke of Anjou to the king.—The four last are in French.

The sixth is a relation of the second embassy from the duke of Anjou to the king of Castile. This is the second piece announced in the title.

The seventh is an answer of the duke of Anjou to the infant of Castile, on some proposals of accommodation with Arragon.—The two last in Latin.

The eighth has this title: *Hic continentur qui possunt facere guerram in Catalaunia et in regno Major*. This piece, in Spanish, is only a list.

The ninth is the relation of an embassy to the judge of Arborea. This is the third piece announced in the title, and is in Latin.

The tenth and eleventh are the same pieces, in French and in Latin, under these two titles: *Rotulus credentie in Gallico*; and *Rotulus predentie ex Gallico in Latinam translatus*. These are letters of credit, and instructions given to the ambassadors going to the judge of Arborea.

The twelfth is a power to confirm alliances, and to form new ones: *Procuratorium super allegantiis jam factis confirmandis, et de novo etiam faciendis*.

The thirteenth is a power to prevent the marriage between the son of the duke of Anjou and the

the daughter of the judge of Arborea: *Procuratorium super matrimonio contrahendo*.

The fourteenth and last is the answer of the judge of Arborea, with his letter to the duke of Anjou.—These three last are in Latin.

The other pieces contained in the same volume, and which are very numerous, will furnish materials for several other accounts.

1871
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been elected to the office of Justice of the Peace for the year 1871.
The names are as follows:
1. John A. Smith
2. James B. Jones
3. William C. Brown
4. Charles D. White
5. Edward F. Green
6. George H. Black
7. Henry I. Grey
8. Thomas J. Pink
9. John K. Blue
10. Robert L. Yellow
11. Daniel M. Purple
12. John N. Brown
13. James O. Green
14. William P. White
15. Charles Q. Black
16. Edward R. Grey
17. George S. Pink
18. Henry T. Blue
19. Thomas U. Yellow
20. John V. Purple
21. James W. Brown
22. William X. Green
23. Charles Y. White
24. Edward Z. Black
25. George AA. Grey
26. Henry BB. Pink
27. Thomas CC. Blue
28. John DD. Yellow
29. James EE. Purple
30. William FF. Brown
31. Charles GG. Green
32. Edward HH. White
33. George II. Black
34. Henry JJ. Grey
35. Thomas KK. Pink
36. John LL. Blue
37. James MM. Yellow
38. William NN. Purple
39. Charles OO. Brown
40. Edward PP. Green
41. George QQ. White
42. Henry RR. Black
43. Thomas SS. Grey
44. John TT. Pink
45. James UU. Blue
46. William VV. Yellow
47. Charles WW. Purple
48. Edward XX. Brown
49. George YY. Green
50. Henry ZZ. White
51. Thomas AA. Black
52. John BB. Grey
53. James CC. Pink
54. William DD. Blue
55. Charles EE. Yellow
56. Edward FF. Purple
57. George GG. Brown
58. Henry HH. Green
59. Thomas II. White
60. John JJ. Black
61. James KK. Grey
62. William LL. Pink
63. Charles MM. Blue
64. Edward NN. Yellow
65. George OO. Purple
66. Henry PP. Brown
67. Thomas QQ. Green
68. John RR. White
69. James SS. Black
70. William TT. Grey
71. Charles UU. Pink
72. Edward VV. Blue
73. George WW. Yellow
74. Henry XX. Purple
75. Thomas YY. Brown
76. John ZZ. Green
77. James AA. White
78. William BB. Black
79. Charles CC. Grey
80. Edward DD. Pink
81. George EE. Blue
82. Henry FF. Yellow
83. Thomas GG. Purple
84. John HH. Brown
85. James II. Green
86. William JJ. White
87. Charles KK. Black
88. Edward LL. Grey
89. George MM. Pink
90. Henry NN. Blue
91. Thomas OO. Yellow
92. John PP. Purple
93. James QQ. Brown
94. William RR. Green
95. Charles SS. White
96. Edward TT. Black
97. George UU. Grey
98. Henry VV. Pink
99. Thomas WW. Blue
100. John XX. Yellow
101. James YY. Purple
102. William ZZ. Brown
103. Charles AA. Green
104. Edward BB. White
105. George CC. Black
106. Henry DD. Grey
107. Thomas EE. Pink
108. John FF. Blue
109. James GG. Yellow
110. William HH. Purple
111. Charles II. Brown
112. Edward JJ. Green
113. George KK. White
114. Henry LL. Black
115. Thomas MM. Grey
116. John NN. Pink
117. James OO. Blue
118. William PP. Yellow
119. Charles QQ. Purple
120. Edward RR. Brown
121. George SS. Green
122. Henry TT. White
123. Thomas UU. Black
124. John VV. Grey
125. James WW. Pink
126. William XX. Blue
127. Charles YY. Yellow
128. Edward ZZ. Purple
129. George AA. Brown
130. Henry BB. Green
131. Thomas CC. White
132. John DD. Black
133. James EE. Grey
134. William FF. Pink
135. Charles GG. Blue
136. Edward HH. Yellow
137. George II. Purple
138. Henry JJ. Brown
139. Thomas KK. Green
140. John LL. White
141. James MM. Black
142. William NN. Grey
143. Charles OO. Pink
144. Edward PP. Blue
145. George QQ. Yellow
146. Henry RR. Purple
147. Thomas SS. Brown
148. John TT. Green
149. James UU. White
150. William VV. Black
151. Charles WW. Grey
152. Edward XX. Pink
153. George YY. Blue
154. Henry ZZ. Yellow
155. Thomas AA. Purple
156. John BB. Brown
157. James CC. Green
158. William DD. White
159. Charles EE. Black
160. Edward FF. Grey
161. George GG. Pink
162. Henry HH. Blue
163. Thomas II. Yellow
164. John JJ. Purple
165. James KK. Brown
166. William LL. Green
167. Charles MM. White
168. Edward NN. Black
169. George OO. Grey
170. Henry PP. Pink
171. Thomas QQ. Blue
172. John RR. Yellow
173. James SS. Purple
174. William TT. Brown
175. Charles UU. Green
176. Edward VV. White
177. George WW. Black
178. Henry XX. Grey
179. Thomas YY. Pink
180. John ZZ. Blue
181. James AA. Yellow
182. William BB. Purple
183. Charles CC. Brown
184. Edward DD. Green
185. George EE. White
186. Henry FF. Black
187. Thomas GG. Grey
188. John HH. Pink
189. James II. Blue
190. William JJ. Yellow
191. Charles KK. Purple
192. Edward LL. Brown
193. George MM. Green
194. Henry NN. White
195. Thomas OO. Black
196. John PP. Grey
197. James QQ. Pink
198. William RR. Blue
199. Charles SS. Yellow
200. Edward TT. Purple
201. George UU. Brown
202. Henry VV. Green
203. Thomas WW. White
204. John XX. Black
205. James YY. Grey
206. William ZZ. Pink
207. Charles AA. Blue
208. Edward BB. Yellow
209. George CC. Purple
210. Henry DD. Brown
211. Thomas EE. Green
212. John FF. White
213. James GG. Black
214. William HH. Grey
215. Charles II. Pink
216. Edward JJ. Blue
217. George KK. Yellow
218. Henry LL. Purple
219. Thomas MM. Brown
220. John NN. Green
221. James OO. White
222. William PP. Black
223. Charles QQ. Grey
224. Edward RR. Pink
225. George SS. Blue
226. Henry TT. Yellow
227. Thomas UU. Purple
228. John VV. Brown
229. James WW. Green
230. William XX. White
231. Charles YY. Black
232. Edward ZZ. Grey
233. George AA. Pink
234. Henry BB. Blue
235. Thomas CC. Yellow
236. John DD. Purple
237. James EE. Brown
238. William FF. Green
239. Charles GG. White
240. Edward HH. Black
241. George II. Grey
242. Henry JJ. Pink
243. Thomas KK. Blue
244. John LL. Yellow
245. James MM. Purple
246. William NN. Brown
247. Charles OO. Green
248. Edward PP. White
249. George QQ. Black
250. Henry RR. Grey
251. Thomas SS. Pink
252. John TT. Blue
253. James UU. Yellow
254. William VV. Purple
255. Charles WW. Brown
256. Edward XX. Green
257. George YY. White
258. Henry ZZ. Black
259. Thomas AA. Grey
260. John BB. Pink
261. James CC. Blue
262. William DD. Yellow
263. Charles EE. Purple
264. Edward FF. Brown
265. George GG. Green
266. Henry HH. White
267. Thomas II. Black
268. John JJ. Grey
269. James KK. Pink
270. William LL. Blue
271. Charles MM. Yellow
272. Edward NN. Purple
273. George OO. Brown
274. Henry PP. Green
275. Thomas QQ. White
276. John RR. Black
277. James SS. Grey
278. William TT. Pink
279. Charles UU. Blue
280. Edward VV. Yellow
281. George WW. Purple
282. Henry XX. Brown
283. Thomas YY. Green
284. John ZZ. White
285. James AA. Black
286. William BB. Grey
287. Charles CC. Pink
288. Edward DD. Blue
289. George EE. Yellow
290. Henry FF. Purple
291. Thomas GG. Brown
292. John HH. Green
293. James II. White
294. William JJ. Black
295. Charles KK. Grey
296. Edward LL. Pink
297. George MM. Blue
298. Henry NN. Yellow
299. Thomas OO. Purple
300. John PP. Brown
301. James QQ. Green
302. William RR. White
303. Charles SS. Black
304. Edward TT. Grey
305. George UU. Pink
306. Henry VV. Blue
307. Thomas WW. Yellow
308. John XX. Purple
309. James YY. Brown
310. William ZZ. Green
311. Charles AA. White
312. Edward BB. Black
313. George CC. Grey
314. Henry DD. Pink
315. Thomas EE. Blue
316. John FF. Yellow
317. James GG. Purple
318. William HH. Brown
319. Charles II. Green
320. Edward JJ. White
321. George KK. Black
322. Henry LL. Grey
323. Thomas MM. Pink
324. John NN. Blue
325. James OO. Yellow
326. William PP. Purple
327. Charles QQ. Brown
328. Edward RR. Green
329. George SS. White
330. Henry TT. Black
331. Thomas UU. Grey
332. John VV. Pink
333. James WW. Blue
334. William XX. Yellow
335. Charles YY. Purple
336. Edward ZZ. Brown
337. George AA. Green
338. Henry BB. White
339. Thomas CC. Black
340. John DD. Grey
341. James EE. Pink
342. William FF. Blue
343. Charles GG. Yellow
344. Edward HH. Purple
345. George II. Brown
346. Henry JJ. Green
347. Thomas KK. White
348. John LL. Black
349. James MM. Grey
350. William NN. Pink
351. Charles OO. Blue
352. Edward PP. Yellow
353. George QQ. Purple
354. Henry RR. Brown
355. Thomas SS. Green
356. John TT. White
357. James UU. Black
358. William VV. Grey
359. Charles WW. Pink
360. Edward XX. Blue
361. George YY. Yellow
362. Henry ZZ. Purple
363. Thomas AA. Brown
364. John BB. Green
365. James CC. White
366. William DD. Black
367. Charles EE. Grey
368. Edward FF. Pink
369. George GG. Blue
370. Henry HH. Yellow
371. Thomas II. Purple
372. John JJ. Brown
373. James KK. Green
374. William LL. White
375. Charles MM. Black
376. Edward NN. Grey
377. George OO. Pink
378. Henry PP. Blue
379. Thomas QQ. Yellow
380. John RR. Purple
381. James SS. Brown
382. William TT. Green
383. Charles UU. White
384. Edward VV. Black
385. George WW. Grey
386. Henry XX. Pink
387. Thomas YY. Blue
388. John ZZ. Yellow
389. James AA. Purple
390. William BB. Brown
391. Charles CC. Green
392. Edward DD. White
393. George EE. Black
394. Henry FF. Grey
395. Thomas GG. Pink
396. John HH. Blue
397. James II. Yellow
398. William JJ. Purple
399. Charles KK. Brown
400. Edward LL. Green
401. George MM. White
402. Henry NN. Black
403. Thomas OO. Grey
404. John PP. Pink
405. James QQ. Blue
406. William RR. Yellow
407. Charles SS. Purple
408. Edward TT. Brown
409. George UU. Green
410. Henry VV. White
411. Thomas WW. Black
412. John XX. Grey
413. James YY. Pink
414. William ZZ. Blue
415. Charles AA. Yellow
416. Edward BB. Purple
417. George CC. Brown
418. Henry DD. Green
419. Thomas EE. White
420. John FF. Black
421. James GG. Grey
422. William HH. Pink
423. Charles II. Blue
424. Edward JJ. Yellow
425. George KK. Purple
426. Henry LL. Brown
427. Thomas MM. Green
428. John NN. White
429. James OO. Black
430. William PP. Grey
431. Charles QQ. Pink
432. Edward RR. Blue
433. George SS. Yellow
434. Henry TT. Purple
435. Thomas UU. Brown
436. John VV. Green
437. James WW. White
438. William XX. Black
439. Charles YY. Grey
440. Edward ZZ. Pink
441. George AA. Blue
442. Henry BB. Yellow
443. Thomas CC. Purple
444. John DD. Brown
445. James EE. Green
446. William FF. White
447. Charles GG. Black
448. Edward HH. Grey
449. George II. Pink
450. Henry JJ. Blue
451. Thomas KK. Yellow
452. John LL. Purple
453. James MM. Brown
454. William NN. Green
455. Charles OO. White
456. Edward PP. Black
457. George QQ. Grey
458. Henry RR. Pink
459. Thomas SS. Blue
460. John TT. Yellow
461. James UU. Purple
462. William VV. Brown
463. Charles WW. Green
464. Edward XX. White
465. George YY. Black
466. Henry ZZ. Grey
467. Thomas AA. Pink
468. John BB. Blue
469. James CC. Yellow
470. William DD. Purple
471. Charles EE. Brown
472. Edward FF. Green
473. George GG. White
474. Henry HH. Black
475. Thomas II. Grey
476. John JJ. Pink
477. James KK. Blue
478. William LL. Yellow
479. Charles MM. Purple
480. Edward NN. Brown
481. George OO. Green
482. Henry PP. White
483. Thomas QQ. Black
484. John RR. Grey
485. James SS. Pink
486. William TT. Blue
487. Charles UU. Yellow
488. Edward VV. Purple
489. George WW. Brown
490. Henry XX. Green
491. Thomas YY. White
492. John ZZ. Black
493. James AA. Grey
494. William BB. Pink
495. Charles CC. Blue
496. Edward DD. Yellow
497. George EE. Purple
498. Henry FF. Brown
499. Thomas GG. Green
500. John HH. White
501. James II. Black
502. William JJ. Grey
503. Charles KK. Pink
504. Edward LL. Blue
505. George MM. Yellow
506. Henry NN. Purple
507. Thomas OO. Brown
508. John PP. Green
509. James QQ. White
510. William RR. Black
511. Charles SS. Grey
512. Edward TT. Pink
513. George UU. Blue
514. Henry VV. Yellow
515. Thomas WW. Purple
516. John XX. Brown
517. James YY. Green
518. William ZZ. White
519. Charles AA. Black
520. Edward BB. Grey
521. George CC. Pink
522. Henry DD. Blue
523. Thomas EE. Yellow
524. John FF. Purple
525. James GG. Brown
526. William HH. Green
527. Charles II. White
528. Edward JJ. Black
529. George KK. Grey
530. Henry LL. Pink
531. Thomas MM. Blue
532. John NN. Yellow
533. James OO. Purple
534. William PP. Brown
535. Charles QQ. Green
536. Edward RR. White
537. George SS. Black
538. Henry TT. Grey
539. Thomas UU. Pink
540. John VV. Blue
541. James WW. Yellow
542. William XX. Purple
543. Charles YY. Brown
544. Edward ZZ. Green
545. George AA. White
546. Henry BB. Black
547. Thomas CC. Grey
548. John DD. Pink
549. James EE. Blue
550. William FF. Yellow
551. Charles GG. Purple
552. Edward HH. Brown
553. George II. Green
554. Henry JJ. White
555. Thomas KK. Black
556. John LL. Grey
557. James MM. Pink
558. William NN. Blue
559. Charles OO. Yellow
560. Edward PP. Purple
561. George QQ. Brown
562. Henry RR. Green
563. Thomas SS. White
564. John TT. Black
565. James UU. Grey
566. William VV. Pink
567. Charles WW. Blue
568. Edward XX. Yellow
569. George YY. Purple
570. Henry ZZ. Brown
571. Thomas AA. Green
572. John BB. White
573. James CC. Black
574. William DD. Grey
575. Charles EE. Pink
576. Edward FF. Blue
577. George GG. Yellow
578. Henry HH. Purple
579. Thomas II. Brown
580. John JJ. Green
581. James KK. White
582. William LL. Black
583. Charles MM. Grey
584. Edward NN. Pink
585. George OO. Blue
586. Henry PP. Yellow
587. Thomas QQ. Purple
588. John RR. Brown
589. James SS. Green
590. William TT. White
591. Charles UU. Black
592. Edward VV. Grey
593. George WW. Pink
594. Henry XX. Blue
595. Thomas YY. Yellow
596. John ZZ. Purple
597. James AA. Brown
598. William BB. Green
599. Charles CC. White
600. Edward DD. Black
601. George EE. Grey
602. Henry FF. Pink
603. Thomas GG. Blue
604. John HH. Yellow
605. James II. Purple
606. William JJ. Brown
607. Charles KK. Green
608. Edward LL. White
609. George MM. Black
610. Henry NN. Grey
611. Thomas OO. Pink
612. John PP. Blue
613. James QQ. Yellow
614. William RR. Purple
615. Charles SS. Brown
616. Edward TT. Green
617. George UU. White
618. Henry VV. Black
619. Thomas WW. Grey
620. John XX. Pink
621. James YY. Blue
622. William ZZ. Yellow
623. Charles AA. Purple
624. Edward BB. Brown
625. George CC. Green
626. Henry DD. White
627. Thomas EE. Black
628. John FF. Grey
629. James GG. Pink
630. William HH. Blue
631. Charles II. Yellow
632. Edward JJ. Purple
633. George KK. Brown
634. Henry LL. Green
635. Thomas MM. White
636. John NN. Black
637. James OO. Grey
638. William PP. Pink
639. Charles QQ. Blue
640. Edward RR. Yellow
641. George SS. Purple
642. Henry TT. Brown
643. Thomas UU. Green
644. John VV. White
645. James WW. Black
646. William XX. Grey
647. Charles YY. Pink
648. Edward ZZ. Blue
649. George AA. Yellow
650. Henry BB. Purple
651. Thomas CC. Brown
652. John DD. Green
653. James EE. White
654. William FF. Black
655. Charles GG. Grey
656. Edward HH. Pink
657. George II. Blue
658. Henry JJ. Yellow
659. Thomas KK. Purple
660. John LL. Brown
661. James MM. Green
662. William NN. White
663. Charles OO. Black
664. Edward PP. Grey
665. George QQ. Pink
666. Henry RR. Blue
667. Thomas SS. Yellow
668. John TT. Purple
669. James UU. Brown
670. William VV. Green
671. Charles WW. White
672. Edward XX. Black
673. George YY. Grey
674. Henry ZZ. Pink
675. Thomas AA. Blue
676. John BB. Yellow
677. James CC. Purple
678. William DD. Brown
679. Charles EE. Green
680. Edward FF. White
681. George GG. Black
682. Henry HH. Grey
683. Thomas II. Pink
684. John JJ. Blue
685. James KK. Yellow
686. William LL. Purple
687. Charles MM. Brown
688. Edward NN. Green
689. George OO. White
690. Henry PP. Black
691. Thomas QQ. Grey
692. John RR. Pink
693. James SS. Blue
694. William TT. Yellow
695. Charles UU. Purple
696. Edward VV. Brown
697. George WW. Green
698. Henry XX. White
699. Thomas YY. Black
700. John ZZ. Grey
701. James AA. Pink
702. William BB. Blue
703. Charles CC. Yellow
704. Edward DD. Purple
705. George EE. Brown
706. Henry FF. Green
707. Thomas GG. White
708. John HH. Black
709. James II. Grey
710. William JJ. Pink
711. Charles KK. Blue
712. Edward LL. Yellow
713. George MM. Purple
714. Henry NN. Brown
715. Thomas OO. Green
716. John PP. White
717. James QQ. Black
718. William RR. Grey
719. Charles SS. Pink
720. Edward TT. Blue
721. George UU. Yellow
722. Henry VV. Purple
723. Thomas WW. Brown
724. John XX. Green
725. James YY. White
726. William ZZ. Black
727. Charles AA. Grey
728. Edward BB. Pink
729. George CC. Blue
730. Henry DD. Yellow
731. Thomas EE. Purple
732. John FF. Brown
733. James GG. Green
734. William HH. White
735. Charles II. Black
736. Edward JJ. Grey
737. George KK. Pink
738. Henry LL. Blue
739. Thomas MM. Yellow
740. John NN. Purple
741. James OO. Brown
742. William PP. Green
743. Charles QQ. White
744. Edward RR. Black
745. George SS. Grey
746. Henry TT. Pink
747. Thomas UU. Blue
748. John VV. Yellow
749. James WW. Purple
750. William XX. Brown
751. Charles YY. Green
752. Edward ZZ. White
753. George AA. Black
754. Henry BB. Grey
755. Thomas CC. Pink
756. John DD. Blue
757. James EE. Yellow
758. William FF. Purple
759. Charles GG. Brown
760. Edward HH. Green
761. George II. White
762. Henry JJ. Black
763. Thomas KK. Grey
764. John LL. Pink
765. James MM. Blue
766. William NN. Yellow
767. Charles OO. Purple
768. Edward PP. Brown
769. George QQ. Green
770. Henry RR. White
771. Thomas SS. Black
772. John TT. Grey
773. James UU. Pink
774. William VV. Blue
775. Charles WW. Yellow
776. Edward XX. Purple
777. George YY. Brown
778. Henry ZZ. Green
779. Thomas AA. White
780. John BB. Black
781. James CC. Grey
782. William DD. Pink
783. Charles EE. Blue
784. Edward FF. Yellow
785. George GG. Purple
786. Henry HH. Brown
787. Thomas II. Green
788. John JJ. White
789. James KK. Black
790. William LL. Grey
791. Charles MM. Pink
792. Edward NN. Blue
793. George OO. Yellow
794. Henry PP. Purple
795. Thomas QQ. Brown
796. John RR. Green
797. James SS. White
798. William TT. Black
799. Charles UU. Grey
800. Edward VV. Pink
801. George WW. Blue
802. Henry XX. Yellow
803. Thomas YY. Purple
804. John ZZ. Brown
805. James AA. Green
806. William BB. White
807. Charles CC. Black
808. Edward DD. Grey
809. George EE. Pink
810. Henry FF. Blue
811. Thomas GG. Yellow
812. John HH. Purple
813. James II. Brown
814. William JJ. Green
815. Charles KK. White
816. Edward LL. Black
817. George MM. Grey
818. Henry NN. Pink
819. Thomas OO. Blue
820. John PP. Yellow
821. James QQ. Purple
822. William RR. Brown
823. Charles SS. Green
824. Edward TT. White
825. George UU. Black
826. Henry VV. Grey
827. Thomas WW. Pink
828. John XX. Blue
829. James YY. Yellow
830. William ZZ. Purple
831. Charles AA. Brown
832. Edward BB. Green
833. George CC. White
834. Henry DD. Black
835. Thomas EE. Grey
836. John FF. Pink
837. James GG. Blue
838. William HH. Yellow
839. Charles II. Purple
840. Edward JJ. Brown
841. George KK. Green
842. Henry LL. White
843. Thomas MM. Black
844. John NN. Grey
845. James OO. Pink
846. William PP. Blue
847. Charles QQ. Yellow
848. Edward RR. Purple
849. George SS. Brown
850. Henry TT. Green
851. Thomas UU. White
852. John VV. Black
853. James WW. Grey
854. William XX. Pink
855. Charles YY. Blue
856. Edward ZZ. Yellow
857. George AA. Purple
858. Henry BB. Brown
859. Thomas CC. Green
860. John DD. White
861. James EE. Black
862. William FF. Grey
863. Charles GG. Pink
864. Edward HH. Blue
865. George II. Yellow
866. Henry JJ. Purple
867. Thomas KK. Brown
868. John LL. Green
869. James MM. White
870. William NN. Black
871. Charles OO. Grey
872. Edward PP. Pink
873. George QQ. Blue
874. Henry RR. Yellow
875. Thomas SS. Purple
876. John TT. Brown
877. James UU. Green
878. William VV. White
879. Charles WW. Black
880. Edward XX. Grey
881. George YY. Pink
882. Henry ZZ. Blue
883. Thomas AA. Yellow
884. John BB. Purple
885. James CC. Brown
886. William DD. Green
887. Charles EE. White
888. Edward FF. Black
889. George GG. Grey
890. Henry HH. Pink
891. Thomas II. Blue
892. John JJ. Yellow
893. James KK. Purple
894. William LL. Brown
895. Charles MM. Green
896. Edward NN. White
897. George OO. Black
898. Henry PP. Grey
899. Thomas QQ. Pink
900. John RR. Blue
901. James SS. Yellow
902. William TT. Purple
903. Charles UU. Brown
904. Edward VV. Green
905. George WW. White
906. Henry XX. Black
907. Thomas YY. Grey
908. John ZZ. Pink
909. James AA. Blue
910. William BB. Yellow
911. Charles CC. Purple
912. Edward DD. Brown
913. George EE. Green
914. Henry FF. White
915. Thomas GG. Black
916. John HH. Grey
917. James II. Pink
918. William JJ. Blue
919. Charles KK. Yellow
920. Edward LL. Purple
921. George MM. Brown
922. Henry NN. Green
923. Thomas OO. White
924. John PP. Black
925. James QQ. Grey
926. William RR. Pink
927. Charles SS. Blue
928. Edward TT. Yellow
929. George UU. Purple
930. Henry VV. Brown
931. Thomas WW. Green
932. John XX. White
933. James YY. Black
934. William ZZ. Grey
935. Charles AA. Pink
936. Edward BB. Blue
937. George CC. Yellow
938. Henry DD. Purple
939. Thomas EE. Brown
940. John FF. Green
941. James GG. White
942. William HH. Black
943. Charles II. Grey
944. Edward JJ. Pink
945. George KK. Blue
946. Henry LL. Yellow
947. Thomas MM. Purple
948. John NN. Brown
949. James OO. Green
950. William PP. White
951. Charles QQ. Black
952. Edward RR. Grey
953. George SS. Pink
954. Henry TT. Blue
955. Thomas UU. Yellow
956. John VV. Purple
957. James WW. Brown
958. William XX. Green
959. Charles YY. White
960. Edward ZZ. Black
961. George AA. Grey
962. Henry BB. Pink
963. Thomas CC. Blue
964. John DD. Yellow
965. James EE. Purple
966. William FF. Brown
967. Charles GG. Green
968. Edward HH. White
969. George II. Black
970. Henry JJ. Grey
971. Thomas KK. Pink
972. John LL. Blue
973. James MM. Yellow
974. William NN. Purple
975. Charles OO. Brown
976. Edward PP. Green
977. George QQ. White
978. Henry RR. Black
979. Thomas SS. Grey
980. John TT. Pink
981. James UU. Blue
982. William VV. Yellow
983. Charles WW. Purple
984. Edward XX. Brown
985. George YY. Green
986. Henry ZZ. White
987. Thomas AA. Black
988. John BB. Grey
989. James CC. Pink
990. William DD. Blue
991. Charles EE. Yellow
992. Edward FF. Purple
993. George GG. Brown
994. Henry HH. Green
995. Thomas II. White
996. John JJ. Black
997. James KK. Grey
998. William LL. Pink
999. Charles MM. Blue
1000. Edward NN. Yellow
1001. George OO. Purple
1002. Henry PP. Brown
1003. Thomas QQ. Green
1004. John RR. White
1005. James SS. Black
1006. William TT. Grey
1007. Charles UU. Pink
1008. Edward VV. Blue
1009. George WW. Yellow
1010. Henry XX. Purple
1011. Thomas YY. Brown
1012. John ZZ. Green
1013. James AA. White
1014. William BB. Black
1015. Charles CC. Grey
1016. Edward DD. Pink
1017. George EE. Blue
1018. Henry FF. Yellow
1019. Thomas GG. Purple
1020. John HH. Brown
1021. James II. Green
1022. William JJ. White
1023. Charles KK. Black
1024. Edward LL. Grey
1025. George MM. Pink
1026. Henry NN. Blue
1027. Thomas OO. Yellow
1028. John PP. Purple
1029. James QQ. Brown
1030. William RR. Green
1031. Charles SS. White
1032. Edward TT. Black
1033. George UU. Grey
1034. Henry VV. Pink
1035. Thomas WW. Blue
1036. John XX. Yellow
1037. James YY. Purple
1038. William ZZ. Brown
1039. Charles AA. Green
1040. Edward BB. White
1041. George CC. Black
1042. Henry DD. Grey
1043. Thomas EE. Pink
1044. John FF. Blue
1045. James GG. Yellow
1046. William HH. Purple
1047. Charles II. Brown
1048. Edward JJ. Green
1049. George KK. White
1050. Henry LL. Black
1051. Thomas MM. Grey
1052. John NN. Pink
1053. James OO. Blue
1054. William PP. Yellow
1055. Charles QQ. Purple
1056. Edward RR. Brown
1057. George SS. Green
1058. Henry TT. White
1059. Thomas UU. Black
1060. John VV. Grey
1061. James WW. Pink
1062. William XX. Blue
1063. Charles YY. Yellow
1064. Edward ZZ. Purple
1065. George AA. Brown
1066. Henry BB. Green
1067. Thomas CC. White
1068. John DD. Black
1069. James EE. Grey
1070. William FF. Pink
1071. Charles GG. Blue
1072. Edward HH. Yellow
1073. George II. Purple
1074. Henry JJ. Brown
1075. Thomas KK. Green
1076. John LL. White
1077. James MM. Black
1078. William NN. Grey
1079. Charles OO. Pink
1080. Edward PP. Blue
1081. George QQ. Yellow
1082. Henry RR. Purple
1083. Thomas SS. Brown
1084. John TT. Green
1085. James UU. White
1086. William VV. Black
1087. Charles WW. Grey
1088. Edward XX. Pink
1089. George YY. Blue
1090. Henry ZZ. Yellow
1091. Thomas AA. Purple
1092. John BB. Brown
1093. James CC. Green
1094. William DD. White
1095. Charles EE. Black
1096. Edward FF. Grey
1097. George GG. Pink
1098. Henry HH. Blue
1099. Thomas II. Yellow
1100. John JJ. Purple
1101. James KK. Brown
1102. William LL. Green
1103. Charles MM. White
1104. Edward NN. Black
1105. George OO. Grey
1106. Henry PP. Pink
1107. Thomas QQ. Blue
1108. John RR. Yellow
1109. James SS. Purple
1110. William TT. Brown
1111. Charles UU. Green
1112. Edward VV. White
1113. George WW. Black
1114. Henry XX. Grey
1115. Thomas YY. Pink
1116. John ZZ. Blue
1117. James AA. Yellow
1118. William BB. Purple
1119. Charles CC. Brown
1120. Edward DD. Green
1121. George EE. White
1122. Henry FF. Black
1123. Thomas GG. Grey
1124. John HH. Pink
1125. James II. Blue
1126. William JJ. Yellow
1127. Charles KK. Purple
1128. Edward LL. Brown
1129. George MM. Green
1130. Henry NN. White
1131. Thomas OO. Black
1132. John PP. Grey
1133. James QQ. Pink
1134. William RR. Blue
1135. Charles SS. Yellow
1136. Edward TT. Purple
1137. George UU. Brown
1138. Henry VV. Green
1139. Thomas WW. White
1140. John XX. Black
1141. James YY. Grey
1142. William ZZ. Pink
1143. Charles AA. Blue
1144. Edward BB. Yellow
1145. George CC. Purple
1146. Henry DD. Brown
1147. Thomas EE. Green
1148. John FF. White
1149. James GG. Black
1150. William HH. Grey
1151. Charles II. Pink
1152. Edward JJ. Blue
1153. George KK. Yellow
1154. Henry LL. Purple
1155. Thomas MM. Brown
1156. John NN. Green
1157. James OO. White
1158. William PP. Black
1159. Charles QQ. Grey
1160. Edward RR. Pink
1161. George SS. Blue
1162. Henry TT. Yellow
1163. Thomas UU. Purple
1164. John VV. Brown
1165. James WW. Green
1166. William XX. White
1167. Charles YY. Black
1168. Edward ZZ. Grey
1169. George AA. Pink
1170. Henry BB. Blue
1171. Thomas CC. Yellow
1172. John DD. Purple
1173. James EE. Brown
1174. William FF. Green
1175. Charles GG. White
1176. Edward HH. Black
1177. George II. Grey
1178. Henry JJ. Pink
1179. Thomas KK. Blue
1180. John LL. Yellow
1181. James MM. Purple
1182. William NN. Brown
1183. Charles OO. Green
1184. Edward PP. White
1185. George QQ. Black
1186. Henry RR. Grey
1187. Thomas SS. Pink
1188. John TT. Blue
1189. James UU. Yellow
1190. William VV. Purple
1191. Charles WW. Brown
1192. Edward XX. Green
1193. George YY. White
1194. Henry ZZ. Black
1195. Thomas AA. Grey
1196. John BB. Pink
1197. James CC. Blue
1198. William DD. Yellow
1199. Charles EE. Purple
1200. Edward FF. Brown
1201. George GG. Green
1202. Henry HH. White
1203. Thomas II. Black
1204. John JJ. Grey
1205. James KK. Pink
1206. William LL. Blue
1207. Charles MM. Yellow
1208. Edward NN. Purple
1209. George OO. Brown
1210. Henry PP. Green
1211. Thomas QQ. White
1212. John RR. Black
1213. James SS. Grey
1214. William TT. Pink
1215. Charles UU. Blue
1216. Edward

NARRATIVE
OF THE
DEATH of RICHARD II.
KING of ENGLAND,

In the Year 1399.

Taken from the Manuscript in the King's Library, No. 8448,
bound in calf, and lettered on the back "EMBASSIES."
No. 22, of the Manuscripts of Baluze.

By M. GAILLARD.

THIS is the same volume that has already furnished us with so full an account of the negotiations respecting the kingdom of Majorca and Minorca, and the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne, invaded by the king of Arragon, and reclaimed by Louis I. duke of Anjou. We have no clue to lead us to the author of this narrative, from which we shall give an extract; but he appears to be a man of information; his account is interesting, and he presents us, in the minutest circumstances, with a just picture of the manners of the age, and country of which he writes.

Richard II. king of England, whose melancholy death we are about to relate, son to the Black Prince, and grandson to Edward III. was the con-

temporary of Charles VI. and as much the friend of that prince, as his father and his uncles had been the enemies of his predecessors. These two kings were of the same age, both in their infancy when they began to reign, and both governed by three uncles, on the father's side, who were ambitious and designing. Fate seems even to have studied to give to the uncles of the king of England the same difference of character as to the uncles of the king of France; and this difference of character took place in the same order. The duke of Lancaster, regent of England, possessed the haughtiness, ambition, and rapacity of the duke of Anjou; the duke of York in effeminacy and indolence resembled the duke of Berry; and the duke of Gloucester had the audacity and turbulence of the duke of Burgundy.

Richard, though two years older than Charles VI. was his son-in-law, having married his daughter Isabella. The marriage could not be consummated, because of the tender age of the princess; but she was educated in England, where the eyes of the nation were offended at the sight of a French princess.

It is remarkable that all the kings of England, who have espoused princesses of France, have been hated by their subjects, and have come to an unfortunate end: witness Edward II. Richard II. Henry VI. and Charles I. This is not our description of those historical singularities for which we are at a loss to account; but the natural effect
of

of a very obvious cause. It arises from the rivalry and national hatred of the two countries, from the difference of constitution, manners, and principles of government, and from the fear, whether founded or not, that a French princess would instil into a king of England the desire of rendering himself absolute, and point out to him the way of becoming so.

There could be no ground for this apprehension with respect to the daughter of Charles VI. who left France at the age of six years, and who was only ten when Richard died. But all the kings of England who have had a friendship for kings of France, have been accused, or suspected, of a design of learning from them how to render themselves absolute, and of availing themselves of their assistance in order to attain their end. The attachment of Charles II. and James II. to Louis XIV. though they had not married princesses of the house of France, was sufficient to expose the former to continual oppositions, and to drive the latter from his throne.

Henry V. is the only instance of a king of England marrying a French princess without bad consequences to himself; and this was because he took advantage of the marriage to oppress and invade France; a measure highly pleasing to the English, who saw not that the title of conqueror, rendered him much more absolute than he would have been without his conquests.

The reign of Richard II. has been constantly torn by parties and factions; it is perhaps difficult to form a just opinion of this prince. He has his censurers, and his panegyrists. He had his favourites, whom he loaded with wealth. To one he gave the sovereignty of Ireland, as he would have given a house or a field; and this favourite dying in a foreign country, he caused his body to be brought to England, and ordered his coffin to be opened that he might contemplate him at leisure, and take a final look at him, before he was deposited in the tomb he had erected for him. From these proofs of so strong an attachment father Orleans praises him as a king susceptible of friendship. The English, more severe, considered these friends merely as minions, and Richard II. in this respect as perfectly similar to Edward II.

The readiness with which he sacrificed these favourites to the hatred of his parliament, whilst it seems to contradict the opinion of the English, takes from Richard a part of the praise bestowed upon him by father Orleans, and proves him in all cases to have been a weak and fickle prince. Troisfart considered these favourites in the same light as the people of England, and calls them the king's dolls.

There are two shining periods in the life of Richard. His uncle the duke of Lancaster, regent of the kingdom, having married Constance, sister to Peter the Cruel, disputed the crown of Castile with

with Henry de Transtamare, and burthened England with subsidies for that expedition, as the duke of Anjou did France for the expedition of Naples. These extortions were attended with the same effect both in France and in England, that is, with insurrections. There was a violent one in London, excited chiefly by the lower classes of people. One Wat Tyler, a blacksmith, was at the head of the insurgents. Superior in force, he treated with the king as his equal, or rather as his inferior; and the propositions which the king made not being agreeable to him, he drew his poignard two or three times to strike him. Fired at this insolence, Walworth, mayor of London, threw himself before the king, and struck down Wat Tyler with his mace, who was soon dispatched by others of the king's retinue. The rebels, immediately crying "Wat Tyler and Revenge," bent their bows. The king's troop, weak as it was, prepared for the combat, but was withheld by him, who advanced alone to the rebels and said, "My friends, Wat Tyler is dead; henceforth you shall have no chief but your king." The mob, changed by this single word, came over to the party of the king. Knolles, one of his generals, arriving to his assistance with what troops he could assemble, asked permission to charge the rebels. "Rebels," replied the king, "there are none here; the persons whom you see are my subjects and my children." Richard was at this time only sixteen years old. Could any thing announce more strongly the son
and

and successor of the Black Prince and Edward III? Other rebels having taken up arms in different parts of the kingdom, Richard vanquished them in person in two battles.

The other striking period in the life of Richard, was when he declared himself of age. His profusion to his favourites had caused measures to be taken to restrain his authority. A council had been imposed on him, without whose consent he could undertake nothing, and he had been compelled to swear submission in every thing to their decisions. The king one day appeared in the parliament, and, with the same air with which he had disarmed the rebels, exclaimed—"How old do you think me?" He was answered, "Twenty-one."—"I ought
" then to begin to take the reins of government
" into my own hands; nor do I feel myself less
" able than my predecessors." The firmness of his manner awed them: they applauded and obeyed. The king immediately began to exercise the authority he had re-assumed; took the chancellorship from the archbishop of Canterbury, who had shown himself an enemy to the favourites, turned many others out of office, and forbid the duke of Gloucester, whom of his uncle's he most suspected, to enter the council. In all this he met no opposition.

But the rest of his life answered too little to these two brilliant moments. Giving himself up to effeminacy and dissipation, he forsook the steps of his predecessors. Weak and hasty, he was neither
capable

capable of avoiding prejudices nor dissembling them: he substituted peevishness in the place of authority. When the parliament requested him to dismiss ministers or favourites that abused their credit, he answered with passion that he would not dismiss the lowest scullion in his kitchen to please the parliament, and threatened to unite with the king of France to learn of him how to reduce rebellious subjects to obedience: he was then frightened and yielded. He broke out at every opposition, and very imprudently always against his uncle's, whom he thus taught to unite and cabal against him. The party of the king was distinguished from that of the princes, and the latter appeared to be that of the nation. The duke of Lancaster was either gone to make war in Spain and claim Castile, or remained in London without credit with the king, or the people. From his absence or his inactivity the duke of Gloucester became the soul of the league formed against the king. The duke of York held the balance between the two parties, or rather was of no party, more from indolence than virtue.

The greatest complaint of the English nation against Richard was the restoration of some places of importance to France, and the truce of twenty-eight years which he concluded with that country, and which he confirmed by his marriage with Isabella, then six years old. Of all their ancient possessions in France, and of all the conquests of Edward III. a few places only remained in the hands
of

of the English before this truce concluded in 1395; but they were the keys of so many provinces: Calais of Picardy, Cherburgh of Normandy, Brest of Brittany, Bordeaux of Guyenne. Cherburgh had been mortgaged to the English by Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, for twenty-five thousand livres. Charles the Noble, his son, demanded the place on repaying the money. His demand was just, as Richard always wanted money: this business therefore was concluded. Brest, which had also been delivered to the English by the duke of Brittany, was for the same reason restored for an hundred and twenty thousand livres. A negociation was begun for Calais, but it was given up.

The restoration of Brest completely alienated the minds of Richard's subjects, and here the narrative of the MS. begins:

‘ The duke of Brittany remaining at Brest, agreeable to the treaty, dismissed the English garrison, which returned to England. Richard, who loved feasts, gave one at Westminster: “ at this feast arrived the soldiers who had held Brest for the king. They were received and came to dinner in the city of the king and in his hall. Then began the duke of Gloucester to speak to king Richard, saying: *Sire, did you not observe the people who dined here?* The king replied, *Good uncle, who are they?* *They are your soldiers, Sire, arrived from Brest, who have served you faithfully, been badly paid, and know not what to do.*” The king, who began to feel displeased at this discourse, contented himself

self with answering coldly; *they shall be fully paid*, and gave orders for that purpose. The duke of Gloucester, who had thus begun, was not to be stopped by a single word. He replied *haughtily*, “Sire, before you restore or sell any of the cities that your predecessors, the kings of England, have gained or conquered, you should with your own arms have taken a city from your enemies.” To this the king answered hastily, “What say you?” The duke repeating his insolent speech, the king flew into a passion, and said to the duke, “Am I a merchant or a madman to sell my territories? No by St. John Baptist: for our cousin of Brittany has well and truly paid the sum my predecessors lent him on the city of Brest, and it is but just that the pledge should be restored.”

From this conversation the king and his uncle were never truly reconciled.

The abbot of St. Alban's, who was godfather to the duke of Gloucester, sent to the prior of Westminster to be at St. Alban's on a certain day. The prior on his arrival found the duke of Gloucester at table with the abbot. After dinner, when they were alone, the abbot said to the prior: “May God and St. George help you as you speak the truth; Have you not had a vision this night?—Yes, said the prior. Then relate your vision truly, said the duke. The prior then fell on his knees before the duke of Gloucester, in the presence of the abbot, and prayed them to pardon him for what he should say, adding he would much rather hold
his

his peace. Speak boldly, said the abbot, his highness pardons you. Then the prior replied, By God and St. George, I was warned this night that the kingdom would be lost by our lord king Richard."

The abbot declared that he had had the same vision; and both having again demanded pardon of the duke for having spoken what he wished to hear, the duke told them that *a sure remedy should soon be applied*. He appointed a meeting with them that day fortnight at the castle of Arundel, where were also present the earl of Arundel; the earl of Nottingham his son-in-law, marshal of England; his brother the archbishop of Canterbury; the earl of Derby son of the duke of Lancaster; and many other lords. "These conspirators first heard mass performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, who administered the sacrament to the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Derby, the earl of Arundel his brother, the earl marshal, &c." They then resolved to secure the persons of the king and his ministers, to put some to death, and confine the rest in prison for life.

The earl of Nottingham posted to the king to disclose to him the whole transaction. His treachery cost his father-in-law the earl of Arundel, to whom he was in secret an enemy, his head. The king wished to enjoy the sight of the execution, and was accompanied by the earl of Nottingham, who exulted at the death of his father-in-law. Arundel made them both blush at such indignity.

He

He was of the first consequence and more esteemed than any other English nobleman.

Amongst the complaints made by Richard to parliament against the earl of Arundel, was the following. The queen, (Anne of Luxemburgh, Richard's first wife, daughter of the emperor Charles IV. and sister to the emperor Venceslas, always styled by the English, whose hearts were gained by her beneficence and amiable qualities, *the good queen*) says the manuscript, "was at one time three hours on her knees before the earl of Arundel, to beg the life of a gentleman called John Carnailly, who notwithstanding had his head cut off: the earl saying to the queen, *Madam, you had better pray for yourself and your husband.*"

We relate this fact to remark that historians attribute this insolent cruelty to the duke of Gloucester, not the earl of Arundel, and instead of Carnailly they all name *Simon Burleigh*, governor of Richard II. a person much more known than Carnailly.

The king, at the same time that he secured the earl of Arundel and the other conspirators whom Nottingham had pointed out, one day mounted on horseback at six o'clock in the morning, *at which the people of London were much surprised*, having with him the earl of Huntingdon his natural brother. He took the road to a country house of the duke of Gloucester, near London, sending his brother before him *with a few attendants* to apprise the duke of his visit. "On his asking if the duke were at home, a damsel answered that *he and his*
lady

lady were still in bed. Then the king, who had formed a small battalion of armed men, with abundance of archers, came riding into his uncle's court, his trumpet sounding before him. Upon this the duke of Gloucester came into the court where the king was, and of a truth the duke had nothing on him but his shirt and a mantle over his shoulders: the duchess followed him attended by all her waiting women. The duke fell on his knees before the king, saying, "Sire, you are most welcome: Why, my dear lord, came you so early without acquainting me of your coming?" and the king answered, "Dear uncle, dress yourself and we will then talk together." The duke being returned, the king said, "Dear uncle, you must go with me:" "Most willingly, answered the duke, and then mounted on horseback." When the king and all his people were out of the gate of the court, he said to the earl marshal (Nottingham), "Convey my uncle to our tower of London, I will speak with him there and no where else." The duke would willingly have spoken with the king, but the king would not, nor did he ever after."

The manuscript says nothing farther respecting the fate of the duke of Gloucester. This omission we shall supply. Fearful of the partisan the duke had in England, the king removed him to Calais. Some time after, the parliament, believing this faction destroyed by the banishment or death of its principal leaders, resolved to bring the duke of Gloucester to trial, and ordered the governor of Calais

Calais (this was Nottingham) to bring his prisoner to England. Nottingham answered, that Gloucester was just dead of an apoplectic fit. It was afterwards known that he was smothered between two mattresses.

We have said that the earl of Derby (Lancaster) was at Arundel's conference; but having shewn less violence there than the rest, the king pardoned him on his full confession of his faults and promise to make amends for them. He afterwards accused the earl of Nottingham (then duke of Norfolk), of being disloyal and a traitor to the king and kingdom. It appeared that in fact he had been by turns the accomplice and the betrayer of Richard's enemies.

The earl of Derby having presented to the king the paper containing this accusation, the king communicated it to the earl of Nottingham, with these words; "*What say you to this, Thomas?*" He answered, "My dear lord, with your leave, if I may answer your cousin, saving your reverence, I say that Henry of Lancaster, duke of Arnord (or of Hereford, a new title just conferred on him), is a liar, and in what he has said, and would say of me, lies like a false traitor as he is." Nottingham was governor of Calais: the earl of Derby accused him of two things; of having applied to his own use money destined for the payment of the garrison, and of having murdered the duke of Gloucester. Nottingham appears to have fully
VOL. II. P justified

justified himself on the first charge: on the second he was silent.

After all the denials, defiances, refusals of reconciliation, gages of combat thrown down and taken up again, and all the ceremonies and formalities of the trial by single combat, which are here related at large, the combatants made their appearance in the lists at Coventry, on an appointed day, in presence of the king and the whole court. The king having sworn by *Saint John the Baptist* that he would never make peace between them: the earl of Derby first arrived, and crossed himself as nimbly as if he had not been armed, and waited for his enemy in a gallant manner, as was fitting on such a day. Nottingham entered the list also, after having heard three masses, saying, *God speed the right.*

The earl of Derby advanced his shield, and signed himself with his hand, "making a cross, and put his lance in the rest, the point towards his enemy, and advanced seven or eight paces to pay his compliments: the duke of Norvolt (Nottingham), neither stirred, nor offered to defend himself. At this the king arose, and cried out; ho! ho! and ordered the earl of Derby's lance to be taken away." Then a herald proclaimed aloud the judgment of the king and his council, which, while it bestowed eulogiums, and did justice to the valour of the two adversaries, of which they had elsewhere given proofs, banished the earl of Derby from the kingdom for ten years, and declared, that *if he re-*
turned

turned before the expiration of that time, he should be hanged, or lose his head. And when this proclamation was made, the people wondered much that the duke of Arnord (Derby), should be banished for having shewn himself so gallant in the performance of his duty, and they made so great a noise that nothing could be heard, for every one thought he had lost his honour." Silence however was obtained, and the second part of the sentence published, banishing the earl of Nottingham for ever, and seizing his possessions till he had fully paid the garrison of Calais.

This strange sentence, so contrary to all the laws of trial by single combat, condemning and punishing both the accuser and the accused, without either of them being convicted, is perfectly inexplicable. Authors reason differently on it. The king forbade the two exiles to choose the same place of retreat, to seek each other for the purpose of fighting, or even to fight if chance should bring them together, under penalty of confiscation of all their possessions. To this they gave him their words and departed, each well pleased, according to the manuscript, at having escaped the fate of the earl of Arundel. Nottingham however died soon after of grief at Venice.

The king also prepared for his departure to make war in Ireland, where at that time were great disturbances. The account of his domestic arrangements before his departure is curious, simple, and interesting. He left his uncle, the duke of York,

lieutenant of the realm in his absence. Isabella of France, his wife, he recommended to him and Scroop, chancellor of the exchequer, *to see that she and her people wanted nothing*. And the king ordered a physician, one master Pool, to take care of the queen as of himself, and gave orders to Philip la Vache, the queen's chamberlain, that master Pool and the confessor were supreme guardians of the queen.

He then took these three persons to his closet, and after having made them swear to speak the truth to what he should ask, ordered them to tell him, whether they thought the dame de Courcy, the queen's governante, of whom he had apparently some suspicion, "was good, accomplished, and prudent enough to be the guardian and mistress of such a personage as the queen of England." To this Philip la Vache and master Pool replied, "Right worthy Sire, the confessor knows foreign ladies better than we; let him speak what he thinks proper." The confessor begged the king to make Philip la Vache or master Pool speak, as the lady might owe him a grudge for it.

This was saying enough, and, being pressed anew by the king, they all three declared she was unworthy so noble an employ. The reasons they assign are very remarkable. "She lives in greater splendor, say they, one thing with another, than the queen, for she has eighteen horses by your order, besides the livery of her husband, whenever she comes or goes; and keeps two or three goldsmiths,

“ smiths, seven or eight embroiderers, two or three
“ cutlers, and two or three furriers, as well as you
“ and the queen: and she is also building a chapel
“ that will cost fourteen hundred nobles; this, if
“ she had remained in France, she would have dis-
“ pensed with.” The king gave orders that she
should be sent back to France, and that all her
debts should be paid. He put the dame Mortimer
in her place.

The king and queen, before they separated, as-
sisted at divine service together, with the canons
of St. George. The king chanted a collect, then
made his offering, and taking the queen in his
arms, very amorously kissed her more than forty
times, saying in a sorrowful tone, “ Adieu, madam,
“ think of me till we meet again;” the queen be-
gan to weep, and said to the king, “ Alas, sir, will
“ you leave me here?” At this the king’s eyes were
full of tears, and he could scarce forbear weeping.
The king and queen then took wine and spices to-
gether, standing at the door of the church, and
afterwards the king stooped down, lifted the queen
from the ground, and, holding her a long time in
his arms, kissed her at least ten times, frequently re-
peating, ‘ Adieu, madam, till we meet again.’ He
then set her down and kissed her three times more,
and, by our lady, I never saw so great a lord make
so great a feast, nor show so much love for a lady,
as king Richard did for the queen.”

She was not then ten years old, *and it was great pity they parted, as they never saw each other again.*

It appears from this relation, that the author was a cotemporary and ocular witness to several of the facts he mentions.

When the earl of Derby took leave of the king, he promised him to shorten the term of his exile to four years, and issued letters patent to preserve to him whatever inheritances might fall to him; if the duke of Lancaster, his father, should die in his absence; which actually happened.

The earl of Derby having retired to France, the king of England took umbrage at his apparently endeavouring to strengthen himself against him, by a foreign alliance with a rival, he having demanded in marriage the daughter of the duke of Berry, uncle to Charles VI. Richard sent the earl of Salisbury into France, to put a stop to this negociation; and the marriage did not take place. He revoked the letters patent that he had granted the earl of Derby, and retained the possessions of the house of Lancaster.

The new duke of Lancaster (Derby) returned from his exile to reclaim his possessions. Circumstances were favourable to him, and he soon saw that he had it in ^{his} power to deprive the prince of his crown, who would have robbed him of his patrimony. He was not however the presumptive heir; the duke of Clarence, younger brother to the Black Prince, but elder brother to the duke of Lancaster,

Lancaster, had left a daughter married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March. Roger Mortimer, the fruit of this marriage, had just been killed in a battle in Ireland, leaving a son, seven years old, to inherit his rights. It was to avenge the death of this Roger that the king went to make war in Ireland. Lancaster flattered himself, that the English, already discontented with too young a king, would prefer him to a king still younger, a prince like himself, capable of taking into his hands the reins of government. He saw that the very oppression under which he laboured would stand him instead of legal right. "He sent at least," says our author, "an hundred and fifty pair of letters, inventing falsehoods against king Richard and his government." He said, that Richard secretly drew to his court a crowd of knights and great lords from France, Brittany, and Germany; "and by their assistance; he would domineer and lord it over the kingdom of England, more than any of his predecessors, and then he might impose what subsidies, taxes, and imposts, he pleased."

This was expressly mentioned in his letters, addressed to the city of London. He added, that it was to free England from the yoke with which it was threatened he had returned to his country. These letters did not fail to produce their effect. The king was not on the spot to defend himself. The son of the earl of Arundel, and the other malcontents, emboldened by the king's absence,

ranged themselves under the standard of the duke of Lancaster. These mal-contents consisted of almost the whole nation. Lancaster soon saw himself at the head of a formidable army : even the duke of York, regent in the king's absence, joined the duke of Lancaster. The chancellor of the exchequer, (Scroop) more loyal, hastened to Ireland to inform the king of the arrival and revolt of the new duke of Lancaster. At this news, the king recollecting what the late duke of Lancaster had often told him of his son, " Ha !" cried he, " dear uncle of Lancaster, God reward your soul ; for had I believed you, this man would not now have offended me : you told me truly that I did wrong to pardon him so often, for he would still continue to offend me. Three times have I pardoned his misdeeds, and this is the fourth offence he has committed."

Richard hastened to England to defend his crown. His army consisted of about thirty-two thousand men, English and foreigners ; but the first were not well disposed towards him. Some days after his arrival in England, " when the king arose in the morning, and was about to say his orisons, as usual, he leaned on a window that looked to the field where his army was encamped ; and when he saw the smallness of the number, he was quite dismayed." This army of thirty-two thousand, was reduced to six thousand, the rest having deserted during the night, and joined the duke of Lancaster. This was the effect of the letters sent

to the king's army, as well as to the cities, corporations, great men of the kingdom, &c. All abandoned the unhappy Richard. He abandoned himself: he quitted the few troops he had left, lest they should deliver him up to the duke of Lancaster; for they were all foreign mercenaries, ready to sell themselves to the highest bidder. This was the advice of his council: there was no dispute, but about the place of his retreat. The earl of Salisbury, and many others, were desirous of his retiring to Bourdeaux: the earl of Huntingdon, his brother, was for his shutting himself up in Conway-castle, on the sea-coast, where he would be secure. "We shall also be secure at Bourdeaux," said the king. "Yes, sire; but that would be to abandon all: it will then be said, that feeling yourself culpable, you had voluntarily deposed your crown. Remain in England: this castle will secure to you the freedom of the sea; you will always have time to go to Bourdeaux, or elsewhere, if circumstances should force you to quit the realm." The king yielded to this counsel, and sent the earl of Huntingdon to negotiate with the duke of Lancaster. On his arrival before the duke, Huntingdon bent one knee to the ground, and said, "It is but reasonable, sir, that I should pay you reverence; for your father was a king's son, and my wife also is your sister."—"Rise, brother-in-law," said the duke coldly, "you have not always acted thus." Then taking him by the hand, he drew him aside, *and they conversed together a long time,*

time, but I knew not what they said. This also shews the author to have been an eye-witness ; it is likely he was in the army of the duke of Lancaster, or in the suite of the earl of Huntingdon, which is much more probable, as he is evidently a partizan of king Richard. The duke retained Huntingdon till the return, as he said, of the earl of Northumberland, whom he had sent to the king. He thus assured himself of an hostage : he did more ; he seemed desirous of retaining him altogether, and of attaching him to his party in spite of himself, for he gave him his order, and caused Richard's to be taken from him. These are the expressions in the manuscript ; but could it be an order properly so called ? The order of England must at this period have been that of the garter, instituted by Edward III. and common both to king Richard and the duke of Lancaster. It seems rather to have been some badge of party, perhaps the red rose of Lancaster. Huntingdon was struck dumb ; *he began to weep, and remained a great while without speaking.* The earl of Rutland, son of the duke of York, said to him tauntingly, " Dear cousin, don't be angry ; if it please God, things will go well."

Another advantage the duke of Lancaster derived from the arrival of the earl of Huntingdon was, to oblige him to write to the king, that he might place an entire confidence in the earl of Northumberland, who was sent by the duke of Lancaster, and was charged with this letter. When he appeared
before

before the king, with seven attendants, he was asked by him, if he had not met his brother on the road? "Yes, sire," he answered, "and here is a letter he gave me for you." Northumberland demanded no other conditions of peace, on the part of the duke of Lancaster, but that the possessions of the house of Lancaster should be restored, and that he should be created lord chief justice. The king deliberated in private with his friends, and immediately imparted to them a secret he might have dispensed with. "Whatever agreement or peace," says he, "he makes with me, if ever I can take him at an advantage, I shall no more scruple to put him to death, than he did to gain the upper hand of me." However, the terms offered were so reasonable, that they could not be rejected. The bishop of Carlisle only advised him to take the precaution of making Northumberland swear by the gospels and the eucharist. He swore, "and might be compared," says our author, "to Judas, or Ganelon, for he perjured himself on the body of our Lord."

The king appointed Flint-castle for his interview with the duke of Lancaster; and when about to depart, he said to the earl of Northumberland, "I rely on your faith; remember your oaths and the God who has heard them." The earl answered, "My dear lord, if I deceive you, deal with me as a traitor." He then asked leave to go before, to prepare a supper for the king and the duke

duke, at Flint-castle, and the false traitor said at his departure; "Make haste, sir, it is already
"near two o'clock."

Richard mounted on horseback, with twenty-one attendants, and going down a mountain on the road, on foot, and looking into the valley, he said to the earl of Salisbury, "Do you not see
"below banners and streamers?" The earl of Salisbury answered, "Certainly, sire, I do; and
"my heart forbodes ill:" and the bishop of Callain (Carlisle) said, "I suspect that man has
"betrayed you." At the same time they saw the earl of Northumberland coming to them, with eleven others. "Sire," said he, "I am come to
"meet you." The king asked who the people were he saw below in the valley. "I have seen
"none," said Northumberland. "Look before
"you then," said the earl of Salisbury, "There
"they are."—"They are your men," said the bishop, "I know your banner."—"Northumber-
"land," said the king, "if I thought you capable of betraying me, it is not yet perhaps too
"late for me to return to Conway."—"You shall
"not return thither," replied the traitor, throwing off the mask, and seizing the bridle of the king's horse: "I shall conduct you to the duke of Lancaster, as I have promised him; for I do not
"break all my promises." In fact he had placed in ambuscade, at the bottom of the mountain, an hundred spearmen and two hundred archers, who, at the sound of a trumpet, were with him in an
instant.

instant. "*The God,*" said the king to the earl, *on whom you laid your hand, will reward thee and thy accomplices at the last day of judgment.*" Then turning to his companions, who were weeping, he said with a sigh, "Ah! O my good and loyal friends, we are betrayed. But in God's name take comfort, and remember our Lord, who was sold and delivered into the hands of his enemies without having merited it."

The king was sent to Flint-castle with his companions, "which was furnished with a number of armed men to guard him." He was thus betrayed, and imprisoned on the 21st of August, 1399.

When he was alone with his friends, he gave himself up to the complaints which his situation inspired. The author of this narrative, who appears to have been present, has presented these lamentations. They have a double merit, that of being sometimes affecting by their simplicity, and of conveying to us several anecdotes of the duke of Lancaster.

After many invocations of God, the virgin, and his patron, St. John the Baptist, "Ah!" cries Richard, "dearest lady and sister! dearest and best beloved companion, Isabel of France! never shall I see you more!—Alas! I left you in the hands of my enemies!—Ah! dearest father and most noble king of France! I commend myself to you, and leave you your daughter: Would to God she were now with you!—Ah! dearest

“ dearest father of France, and dear uncle of Berry
“ and Burgundy! flower of nobility! never will
“ this disgrace be avenged by you!—Ah! dear
“ cousin of Brittany!—Alas! you said truly, at
“ your departure, that I should never be safe whilst
“ Henry of Lancaster was alive. Alas! thrice have
“ I saved his life! for once my dear uncle of Lan-
“ caster, on whom God have mercy! would have
“ put him to death for the treason and villainy he
“ had been guilty of. O God of Paradise! all
“ night did I ride to preserve him from death, and
“ his father yielded him to my request, telling me
“ to do with him as I pleased. Oh God! how true
“ is the saying, that *we have no greater enemy than*
“ *the man we save from the gallows?* O God! once
“ he drew his sword on me in the chamber of the
“ queen (Anne of Luxembourg) on whom God
“ have mercy! He was of the council of the duke
“ of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel; he con-
“ sented to my death, that of his father, and all
“ my council. Oh my godfather! by St. John
“ the Baptist, all his offences towards me have I
“ pardoned; nor would I believe my uncle, his
“ father, who two or three times condemned him
“ to death. Alas! I was a fool.—Oh dearest lady
“ and mother, queen of France! I commend my-
“ self to you. Alas! I purposed to visit you
“ shortly, with Isabel your daughter, my dear lady
“ and friend, who has a strong desire of seeing you.
“ Oh dearest brother, noble dauphin of Vienna!
“ Alas! too well I perceive that I shall never see
“ you!

“ you ! Ah brother-in-law, Lewis, duke of Turenne, and you my sisters of France ! were Isabel, my dearest companion, at Paris with you : alas ! were I certain of her safety, I should die with less regret. Ah dearest father ! take pity on my beloved companion Isabel, your daughter. Ah all you noble lords of France ! never did any of the noble kings of France experience such grievous treason as I have from my own kinsmen and relations. I most humbly beseech you that it may please you to assist and comfort my dearest father and lord, the noble king of France, whenever it shall please him to take vengeance, which I pray God to enable him to do fully and speedily, as such an action deserves. Ah my dearest sister, lady, and dear companion, Isabel of France ! if I could see you once more before I die, I should meet death more readily, and with less reluctance.”

This unhappy prince appears to have been at least endowed with sensibility: he appears also perhaps to have been more attached to France than was prudent for a king of England in those times.

The duke of Lancaster, being informed by the earl of Northumberland of what had passed, drew near Flint-castle with all his army, which consisted of about eighty thousand men. Richard observing this from the terrace of the castle, to which he had gone up to take the air, trembled: tears fell from his eyes, and he said to his companions, “ My friends, in a few moments we shall be delivered into the
“ hands

“hands of our mortal enemies.” Lancaster drew up his army around the castle, *which made so great a noise with trumpets and other instruments, that it seemed as if the castle were falling, and that even the thunder of God could not be heard.*

During the king's dinner some curious persons of the duke's retinue were every moment entering into the hall to see the king, and said to the king's attendants and other lords, “Eat heartily and make “good cheer, for by St. George all your heads will “soon be cut off.” After dinner the king and the duke had an interview. The king, making an effort to treat the duke with civility, saluted him and welcomed him on his return. “I am returned “sooner than you expected, said the duke, to “assist you in governing this kingdom, which for “twenty-two years, that it has been subject to your “laws, has not been governed agreeably to the “wishes of the people.” He then spoke to all the lords of the king's retinue, except the earl of Salisbury. We have said, that when the duke of Lancaster resided in France, Richard sent Salisbury thither to prevent the duke's marriage with the daughter of the duke of Berry. Salisbury, being charged with this commission, thought it would be improper for him to see the duke of Lancaster at Paris. Lancaster therefore ordered him to be informed at Flint-castle, *that as he had not condescended to speak to him at Paris, neither would he now speak to him.* He made the king mount on horseback, and led him in his train to Chester: he there in-
trusted

trusted him to the care of the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel, saying, "Here is the murderer of your father; you must be answerable for him." To deprive him of his last consolation they separated him from his friends, who embraced him with tears and withdrew, whilst he, motionless with grief, and sinking under the weight of his misfortunes, could neither weep nor speak.

The author of this narrative is evidently one of the friends who were torn from him at this cruel moment; for after having related the king's complaints at Flint-castle, because he had heard them, he says, in this part of his narrative, "of his wailing and complaints no one knew any thing, except those who guarded him." On his journey to Litchfield he attempted his escape, which caused him to be more strictly guarded, *and as a thief or murderer*. He was then led in triumph in the train of the duke of Lancaster, amidst the acclamations of the people, who blessing Lancaster and insulting Richard, demanded of the conqueror the head of this unhappy prince. The duke answered, "that he should be tried by a free parliament."

In this manner they arrived at London, where the person of the king could scarcely be recognized, so much was his countenance bathed with tears. Some pitied him much, others cursed him, saying, "Now we are well revenged of the *little bastard* that has so badly governed us."

To understand this expression of *little bastard*, it should be observed, that the intrigues of the duke of Lancaster's father, who, at the death of

the Black Prince, would fain have succeeded him, had raised some doubts of the legitimacy of the young Richard. It was reported that he was the son of a canon of Bourdeaux: it was remarked that his mother's palace was always filled *with young and handsome clerks and canons*, and on these grounds they defamed the most virtuous and respectable princess in the world. They even attacked her marriage with the prince of Wales. They said that the earl of Salisbury, her first husband, who had separated from her without their marriage having been dissolved, was still living when she espoused the prince of Wales. Edward III. put an end to all doubts and suspicions on this head, by declaring Richard his heir, proclaiming him prince of Wales, and bestowing on him all the honours and estates of the Black Prince, his father. But when the nation arose against Richard, all these old calumnies were revived.

Richard was confined in the tower of London, where none of his friends were admitted to him. Lancaster forced him to receive the duke of York and the earl of Rutland his son. When he announced them; "*they are my betrayers,*" cried Richard, "*spare me the sight of them.*" These princes entering at that instant heard this reproach. The earl of Rutland advancing with his hat on his head, gave the king the lye, and threw his hat on the ground in defiance; an action as cowardly then as it would have been rash before Richard's fall. "*It is too much,*" said the king, "*to be at once a traitor and insolent.*" Lancaster reproached and threat-

threatened the earl of Rutland, and forbid him to speak to the king, whom he wished yet to manage, to obtain of him, in appearance a voluntary abdication.

"Am I your king, or your prisoner? and why am I thus guarded?" said Richard to the duke of

Lancaster.—"Sire, you are my king, but the *council of the realm* orders you to be thus guarded."

Richard asked for the queen his wife; "you cannot see her," said Lancaster, "the council has

forbidden it." Richard then claimed the laws of chivalry, and offered alone to combat four of

his accusers or oppressors. Lancaster made no answer to this proposal, only desiring the king to wait the decision of the parliament. "Well, let me at

least appear in this parliament, and let my reasons be heard." Lancaster, without explaining himself on this head, contented himself with answering, "Sire, you will have justice."

The manuscript does not say, as many historians have asserted, that the king, either voluntarily, or by compulsion, signed a deed of abdication.

The parliament assembled the 30th of September 1399. Lancaster was Richard's accuser, and the whole assembly condemned him without hearing him. The bishop of Carlisle was the only one that durst speak in his favour. "Ah! sirs," said he, "you hear a malefactor, an assassin in his defence, and you dare condemn your king without a hearing!" The argument was unanswerable: the tyrant felt it, and replied by an order to the marshal of the crown to arrest the bishop and send him to prison, for having insulted the regal ma-

jeſty in his perſon, by defending it in Richard. This unhappy prince was depoſed, and Henry of Lancaſter proclaimed. The judgment given was, “ That Richard of Bourdeaux, ſtiled king of England, is condemned to be confined in a royal priſon; that he ſhould have the beſt bread, the beſt wine, and the beſt meat that could be procured for ſilver or gold; and if any diſturbance were made by armed people coming to his aſſiſtance, he ſhould be the firſt put to death.”

The laſt words of the ſentence was the decree of his death. A conſpiracy was formed in his favour without his knowledge. Inſtead of Richard, one of his chaplains, (the manuſcript ſays one of his eſquires) called *Maudlin* or *Magdalen*, the reſemblance of whoſe ſhape and figure to that of this prince was very great, was ſhown to the people. They began by propagating privately a report that king Richard had eſcaped from priſon; and when they thought the minds of the people diſpoſed in his favour, a tournament was appointed at Oxford, to which it was propoſed to invite Henry IV. in order to take him priſoner, or aſſaſſinate him. The earl of Rutland, who had by turns flattered and betrayed the duke of Glouceſter and Richard II. and who then flattered Henry IV. (Lancaſter) to betray him, was at the head of the conſpiracy. One day, being at dinner with his father the duke of York, he received a private paper, which he appeared to hide with care. He was noticed, and ſeemed diſturbed: the duke of York wiſhed to ſee the paper, and ſnatched it from his ſon by force.

It

It was an account of the conspiracy, and a list of the conspirators. The duke of York flew into a violent passion with his son: "Traitor," said he to him, "thou knowest I am pledged for thee to the parliament, both in my person and my fortune: I see plainly thou wouldst have my life; but, by St. John, I had rather thou shouldst be hanged than me."

Immediately he mounted on horseback to hasten to disclose the whole to Henry IV. The earl of Rutland took the precaution to be before him, in order to obtain his pardon. The conspirators knowing that these two princes were gone to the king, and thinking they had now but one stake left, invested Maudlin with the insignia of royalty. Some of the people believed, or were willing to believe, that he was the king. They found in this chaplain all the graces of Richard, which were sufficient to counter-balance his faults, and whose fate was unhappy enough to merit pity. The conspirators endeavouring to surprise Henry at Windsor, were themselves surprised at Cirencester, by the mayor of that place, who intercepted them, overcame them, and took their principal leaders prisoners. The earl of Salisbury was slain in the battle. The earl of Rutland, having been unable to join the conspirators, had taken the part of fighting against them. Who but must have felt indignation at seeing this traitor carrying on the end of a lance the head of his brother-in-law and accom-

plice, lord Spencer, and shamefully presenting it to Henry, whom he would have treated in the same manner if the tournament at Oxford had taken place.

The unfortunate Richard, strictly guarded in Pomfret, or Pontefract (*Pontus fracti*) castle, did not long survive this conspiracy, of which he was ignorant. Some historians say, that he killed himself; others, that he was starved to death; but many say, that he was assassinated by order of Henry; that he defended himself bravely, and sold his life dear. Our manuscript confirms this last account. A knight, named Peter d'Exton, or Exton, sent by king Henry, arrived at Pomfret-castle, with seven other assassins. Richard was at table. Exton called the carver, and gave him orders on the part of Henry, not to taste the meat served at Richard's table, as he had been accustomed to do; "*For,*" said he, "*he will not eat much more.*" Richard perceiving his carver omit this ceremony, ordered him to perform it. The carver fell on his knees, and alledged what Exton had commanded him on the part of Henry. Richard losing his patience, struck the carver with a knife that was on the table, saying, "Go to the devil, thee and thy "*Lancaster.*" Exton came in at the noise, with his seven men armed. At this sight Richard pushed down the table, darted into the midst of the eight assassins, snatched a battle axe from one of them, laid four of them dead at his feet, to the great terror

ror of the others ; when Exton attacking him from behind, gave him a stroke on the head. With this he fell, ' crying to God for mercy ; and Exton gave him another stroke on the head. Thus died the noble king Richard, without having confessed himself, which was much to be lamented.'

Exton himself appeared terrified at his crime. ' He sat down by the side of the body, and began to weep, saying, " Alas ! what have we done ? we " have put to death him who was our sovereign " lord for twenty-two years. Now have I lost my " honour, nor shall I ever find a country to which I " can fly from reproach."

Those modern historians who have embraced the opinion of Richard's having been starved to death, have been led to it by a circumstance, which is the frequent source of deception, that the body, exposed in public in St. Paul's church at London, did not exhibit any marks of violence. But besides that in such cases it is easy to disguise appearances, and that the body, surrounded with guards, is exposed to the sight only, not the examination of the people, our manuscript refutes the conclusion that might be drawn from this circumstance, by asserting that its only object was to confirm the death of Richard ; *for they required nothing more.*

Richard was assassinated on Twelfth-day, in the year 1400. Various punishments were inflicted on such of his friends as were taken either in battle or in flight. Our manuscript enters very minutely into these mournful relations, and it must be owned

the simplicity of the old language seems to lessen the horror, and render them at the same time more interesting. Amongst these noble victims of fidelity to Richard, a brave knight, Thomas Blount, and the earl of Huntingdon, Richard's natural brother, are distinguished.

Sir Thomas Blount, and one Bennet Selly, his companion, were drawn from Oxford (above three miles) to the place of execution, 'where they were hanged; but the ropes were soon cut, and these gentlemen were made to talk, and sit on a bench before a great fire, and the executioner came with a razor in his hand, and knelt down before Sir Thomas Blount, whose hands were tied, begging him to pardon him his death, as he must do his office. Then Sir Thomas asked him, "Are you the person appointed to deliver me from this world?" The executioner answered, "Yes," saying, "Sir, I pray you pardon me;" and Sir Thomas kissed him, and forgave him his death. The executioner knelt down, and Sir Thomas Blount (Le Blanc) made himself ready; and then the executioner opened his belly, and cut out his bowels straight from below the stomach, and tied them with a string, that the wind of the heart should not escape, and threw the bowels into the fire. Then Sir Thomas le Blanc was sitting before the fire, his belly open, and saw his bowels burning before him.' Sir Thomas D'Arpeghen, king Henry's chamberlain, insulting Blount, said to him with derision, "Go seek a master that can cure you." Blount only answered

swered by putting his hands together, saying, “ *Te Deum laudamus*, and blessed be the hour that I was born, and blessed be this day, for I shall die in the service of my sovereign lord, the noble king Richard.”

Arpegghen wished to compel him to reveal the accomplices of his treason. “ The words traitor and treason,” said he, “ belong to thee and the infamous Rutland, by whom the flower of English chivalry is this day destroyed. I summon you both ‘ before the face of Jesus Christ, for your great treason against our sovereign lord the noble king Richard.” The executioner then asked him, if he would drink? “ No,” said he, “ you have taken from me the place into which I should put it. God be praised, my bowels are in the fire.” He afterwards entreated the executioner to deliver him from this world, saying, “ It hurts me much to see the traitors who are present.” The executioner then knelt down before him, and kissed him in a very humble manner, and soon after his head was cut off, and he was quartered.

The earl of Huntingdon, the king’s brother, fled into the county of Essex ; but passing through a small village belonging to the countess of Hereford, sister to the late earl of Arundel, he was known and arrested. The countess sent news of it to king Henry, desiring him to send her the young earl of Arundel, her nephew, that he might enjoy the vengeance she was going to take on the man to whose counsel

counsels she principally attributed the death of her brother; which, it appears, she should rather 'have imputed to the treachery of the earl of Nottingham. The young Arundel hastened thither, and loaded Huntingdon with reproaches. The countess had assembled her vassals, to the number of eight thousand, and delivered to them the earl of Huntingdon in chains, ordering them to cut him in pieces. The unfortunate man entreated for mercy, alledging, that he had never done them any injury; *and all took great pity on him except the countess (of Hereford) and the earl of Arundel.* The countess flew into a passion, exclaiming, "Curse on you
" all, villains! you have not the courage to put a
" man to death."

An esquire offering himself for this purpose, advanced with his hatchet in his hand; but he was so touched with the tender complaints of Huntingdon, *'that he trembled for fear,* and returned to the countess with tears, saying, "Madam, I would not
" put the duke to death for all the gold in the
" world."—"Then," said she, "do what thou
" hast promised, or thy own head shall be cut off." When he heard this, he was so afraid, that he knew not what to do, and said, "Sir, I entreat your pardon; forgive me your death." He then lifted his hatchet, and struck him so hard on the shoulder, that he made him fall with his face to the ground. The noble duke (Huntingdon had been created duke of Exeter by Richard) leaped on his feet, saying, "Alas, man! why do you treat me thus?"

"For

“ For God’s sake, kill me more easily.” He then gave him eight blows on the shoulder, for he could neither hit his neck or his head ; the ninth stroke was in the neck : and the worthy duke, brother to the noble king Richard, spoke yet, saying, “ Alas, “ dear friend ! have pity on me, and free me from “ my pain.” The executioner then cut his throat with a knife, to separate his head from his body ; and in this manner was the noble duke put to death.’

Maudlin also was taken, and conducted to London. He asked the mayor, if he should be quartered ? “ No,” said the mayor, “ but your head “ will be cut off.” Then Maudlin thanked God that he should die in the service of his sovereign lord the noble king Richard.

The bishop of Carlisle suffered only about a year’s imprisonment, and the loss of his bishopric. He died rector of Todenham, in the county of Gloucester.

Henry IV. remained peaceably in possession of the throne, and was the first king of England of the house of Lancaster, afterwards dispossessed by the house of York.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
OF THE REIGNS OF
Charles VII. and Louis XI.

By AMELGARD, a Priest of Liege.

Taken from the Manuscripts in the King's Library, No. 5962,
and No. 5963.

By M. DU THEIL.

WHATEVER be the result of the account
and extract I here offer to the committee,
I regret not the time and trouble they have cost me.
If one of the principal duties of the task we have
imposed on ourselves be, to give such accounts of
the manuscripts we examine as shall supersede the
necessity in those who have recourse to them, of
reading works, which, upon the whole, are but
little interesting, I trust I have fulfilled my task with
respect to the history written by Amelgard. I have
compared it carefully with the old sources of infor-
mation, as the Chronicle of Monstrelet, the Col-
lection of Godefrey, the Journal of Paris, Rymer's
Acts, and even some anecdotes obtained from the
Tower

Tower of London, which M. de Breguigny has been so obliging as to communicate to me; and also with the modern historians, Rapin, Thoiras, fathers Orleans, Daniel and Griffet, Messrs. Bodot de Juilly, Duclos, Villaret and Hume. I have faithfully noted whatever in my author's narrative has appeared different from them, or new. Every unknown circumstance, relative to reigns so interesting as those of Charles VII. and Lewis XI. I thought worth collecting, whilst I was desirous of having it in my power to affirm, that, to whatever accuracy any one may be willing to pursue his enquiries into this epoch of our history, he will find nothing new in Amelgard, after having read my account of his history.

It is remarkable, that not one of the historians above named has cited this work of Amelgard, though it is mentioned in the Library of France, and in the catalogue of the king's library. It would be still more astonishing, if they totally neglected making themselves acquainted with it, as in 1729, Don Martenne inserted a part of it, concerning the affairs of Liege, in the fourth volume of his *Collectio Amplissima*. The manner in which he announces this work, what he quotes from the beginning of the Life of Charles VII. and the chapters he has published, all, it should seem, would have excited in historians, by profession, a desire of knowing the whole work. If, contrary to all appearance, they had derived no help from this source towards perfecting their work, at least by shewing that

that they had not neglected it, they would have given us a greater reliance on the accuracy of their researches.

Be it as it may, what I shall say with respect to Amelgard himself, of the two copies of his work found in the king's library, its form and distribution, the literary merit to which it is entitled, the addition to our historical knowledge that may be drawn from it, will appear wholly new, if not interesting.

As to Amelgard himself, it has hitherto been impossible for me, and will perhaps be always difficult for any one to obtain any considerable knowledge respecting him. All the learned men, to whom his work has been known, contenting themselves with extracting from it what answered their purposes, seem to have agreed in neglecting either to make any enquiries after, or to transmit to us, any information relative to the author. Besides the *Collectio Amplissima*, I find the history of Amelgard quoted in the *Promptuarium sacrarium antiquitatum Tricassinae diocesis**, noticed in the library of France†, mentioned in the *Gallia Christiana*‡; though neither Don Martenne, nor Camuzat, nor Peter le Long, nor M. de Fontette, or, more lately, the Benedictines, add the least circumstance respecting the person, whose authority some of them borrow, and whose work others announce. As to Fabricius, and the authors of historical dictionaries,

* Page 235. † Vol. II. Nos. 17268, 17327, 17328.

‡ Vol. XII. page 514.

as well as the bibliographers, whom I had in my power to consult, not one of them appears to have known any thing of him. Perhaps I should have received more light from those authors who, being natives of the Low Countries, have written histories of them *ex professo*. These, I confess, I had not leisure to consult; I had only Aubert le Mire, in my possession, who gave me no information on this head.

All that I shall say of him here will be confined then to the little I have been able to collect from the few passages of his work, in which the author speaks of himself. All that he says concerning himself is, that he was a cotemporary of Charles VII. and Lewis XI: that he had frequently the honour of being admitted to the former of these princes and conversing familiarly with him: that he had cultivated the friendship of many persons of considerable rank, and worthy of credit, particularly count Dunois: that, after the expulsion of the English, he was ordered by Charles VII. to revise the trial of the Maid of Orleans, and had composed a book on the examination of that iniquitous proceeding; and, finally, that in 1482, he lived at Utrecht.

From the manner in which he expresses himself in some places, we may conjecture that he wrote his history at different times privately, and as the events took place, at least as to part of the reign of Lewis XI. He tells us precisely the date of his writing the twenty-fifth chapter of the second book:
that

that it was four years and an half after the imprisonment of the bishop of Verdun, who shared both in the good fortune and the disgrace of cardinal Balue. The thirteenth chapter of the third book must evidently have been written before Margaret of Anjou's return to France.

From these few dates it follows, almost to a demonstration, that Amelgard must have written his history in the earlier years of the reign of Charles VII. at latest, of which he records no other event or circumstance than the assembling the states of Tours, which took place shortly after that prince came to the throne. Our historian, at this period, must have been advanced in years. A man who has always lived as a private individual, as it appears Amelgard did, and who does not appear to have borne any titles, or possessed any dignity, except that of the priesthood, could not, one would imagine, arrive in his youth to such a degree of consequence and personal reputation, as we must suppose our author had acquired in 1452, or 1453, when he was charged with the revival of the process of Joan la Pucelle. We must necessarily admit him at that time to have arrived at an age of maturity at least; of course he must have been in years in 1484. If to these circumstances we add his total silence as to all that passed after this period, it seems very probable that he did not long survive it.

What I have observed as to the private manner in which Amelgard appears to have lived, deter-

mines, nothing respecting the rank in which he was born. But, from the consideration which he enjoyed during his life, we must either conclude that he was possessed of a high degree of moderation, if he neglected the pursuit of dignities, to which both his rank and his abilities entitled him; or that he must have possessed superior merit, if prevented by his birth from occupying places of honour: he was equally admitted and esteemed in the society, and employed in the affairs of kings and princes.

The view of the author in composing this work, the freedom with which he speaks his sentiments of the princes he mentions; the stile in which he writes; the knowledge and cultivation of mind which his manner indicates; all conspire to corroborate the latter opinion.

In a short preface, in which he boasts of the utility of history, and condemns the falsehoods that personal interest sometimes suggests to historians, he declares that he will write only what he has seen himself, or learned from witnesses most worthy of credit, and with the sole design of rendering his labours useful to posterity. He expresses himself with freedom and boldness when he mentions circumstances that reflect on Charles VII. whilst at the same time he pays the most sincere homage to his great qualities. He spares not the atrocious vices of Louis XI. without passing over in silence the less blameable parts of his conduct, or the talents he displayed. If we go through his work we shall acknowledge his impartiality, except that he seems

more favourable to the duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, than to Charles VII. supposing him more sincere than the king, in forgetting their mutual quarrels, and desiring to keep the treaty of Arras. He seems not to reflect, that, admitting the disposition he ascribes to these two princes to be strictly true, Charles was excusable in feeling the weight of the conditions, which necessity alone could have induced him to accept from a rebellious vassal, and a relation more zealous for his own power, than the interest of his family and king. This tint of partiality to Philip, and a greater indulgence for the French than the English, both perhaps excusable in a countryman of the former, are, in my opinion, the only instances of the kind that merit blame.

A proper attention to the order of time, which he too frequently confounds, is indeed too much neglected by him. We could also wish for more information in the several events that occurred in provinces at a little distance from those in which he appears to have passed his life, and which are only Flanders, Picardy, and Normandy; a more extensive knowledge of what passed out of France; fewer omissions of interesting facts, which it is astonishing to find not even mentioned by him! From these defects his work cannot at present supply the place of our modern historians, nor in general be of any great utility.

Yet the reader would not find it tiresome. From the frequent quotations to be met with in

the course of it, and which are almost always aptly cited, it appears that he was well read in the best Latin authors, both in poetry and prose, Virgil, Lucretius, Lucan, Seneca, Cicero, Sallust, and Livy. In imitation of the latter, he sometimes puts speeches into the mouths of his personages. His style is clear, elevated and precise, though the Latinity is not always pure; and in many places it is far from unpleasing, particularly in the chapter, in which, after having mentioned the conclusion of the truce in 1444, he stops to delineate the pleasures and enjoyments of peace, so desirable to France, long and cruelly torn by foreign and civil wars. Amelgard was not ignorant of philosophy, though piety, a duty suitable to his character; and a more common virtue in his age than in ours, is observable in many passages of his book. He frequently, it is true, relates those popular traditions, that devoutly point out the finger of God in events, over which providence undoubtedly presides, but which has never been proved, nor is it probable that it has made an obvious, predicted, or foreseen consequence of prior occurrences. He recites those testimonies which assure us that the new and unexpected calamities, to which human nature is so liable, are the necessary chastisements, or miraculous annunciation of preceding crimes, frequently exaggerated at least, and sometimes fictitious. But in recording these reports and notions, easily credited by an unenlightened people as our ancestors were, he exhibits little personal credulity, and we may

may perceive that he did not embrace these groundless persuasions. He even almost always invites the reader to explain events by natural causes, without attempting to fathom the designs and ways of divine wisdom; and may be considered rather as a Christian philosopher, than a superstitious devotee.

I leave it to the reader to confirm, or rectify, the judgment I have ventured to give of the work by the extract that will follow; but before I give it, it is proper to describe the appearance of the two copies I have examined.

The copy, numbered 5962, is in folio, covered with red Morocco, with the arms of Colbert. It contains, besides a table of the contents of all the chapters, 1054 pages, very neatly written, correctly spelt, but very difficult to read, resembling what is called *écriture de chicane*, the precise date of which I have thought it unnecessary to endeavour to determine; but which I believe to have been about the middle of the sixteenth century. At the head of the index to the chapters, there is written in a different hand, *somi comitis de Lalaing*, which is repeated at the third leaf of the history itself. Short notes in Latin, written since the manuscript, of little importance, chiefly referring only to the chronicle of Monstrelet, are sometimes found in the margin.

The copy marked 5963, also in folio, is covered with calf. It contains 556 pages; the writing is much more modern, less neat, more easy to read; but closer, less regular, and less accurately spelt

than the other copy. The four leaves, or eight pages, that conclude the history of Charles VII. are wanting, and the last leaf of the life of Louis XI. is worm-eaten. Besides these defects, the great number of faults, of words changed, or entirely omitted, that disfigure almost every page, make this copy almost as tiresome to read as the other, and compel us to a kind of collation that renders the labour tedious. In the latter copy, at the head of the first chapter of the history of Louis XI. the title is written in very bad characters, and followed by these words, *ex bibliotheca viri clarissimi Johannis Baptistæ Haultin regii in castelleto Parisiensis consiliani.*

The form or division of the work is the same in both copies. The part concerning the life of Charles VII. (the only one from which I purpose to give an extract at present) is divided into five books.

The first book, containing sixteen chapters, exclusive of the preface, treats on what passed in France, from the birth of Charles to his accession to the throne. Thus the history of the reign of that prince occupies, in fact, but four books; the first divided into twenty-one, the next into twenty, and the two last into twenty-six chapters each. The twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth chapters of the last book are wanting in the copy marked 5963.

It would be useless to transcribe here the index to all the chapters of each book; I shall therefore
only

only extract what has appeared to me either new, or worthy of remark, in the course of the work.

I shall follow the author's order, and shall note in the margin the numbers of the chapters from which the remarks or extracts are taken, passing over none unnoticed but those in which nothing is to be found that is not equally well, or, as it frequently happens, much better related elsewhere.

CHAP. I. The author begins with a general
Folio 2, picture of the events of the reign of
Verso. Charles VII.

CHAP. II. He then explains the origin of the
Folio 2, quarrels between the dukes of Bur-
Verso. gundy and Orleans: assigning as the
 principal cause of their enmity, the
affront the duke of Orleans had given to the wife
of John the Bold, before he was duke of Bur-
gundy. He tells us, as a certain fact, that had been
related to him by people well informed on the sub-
ject, that the duke of Orleans had attempted to
violate that princess, on some festival, in the king's
palace*.

R 4

He

* *Cum enim haberet dux Burgundionum generosissimam dominam in conjugem, filiam unius ducum Bavaria, decore, & elegantiae formâ speciosissimam, quæ & ipsa, ut pleræq. fæminæ nobiles, alti & magni animi erat; contigit quâdam vice, dum in palatio regali, choris & lasciviis, nocturnis jam horis, plures tam viri quam fæminæ procerum ac nobilium, ex more se recrearent, ut Aurelianiensium dux, qui, ut satis formosus hinc habebatur, ad omnem ferme speciosam mulierem,*

CHAP. III.

Folio 2,
Verso.

He next gives an account of the perseverance and address that John, afterwards duke of Burgundy, displayed in the preparation and execution of a project to destroy his enemy; a project, which, according to him, John formed at an early period, but which he was advised to delay till he had made his rival hated by the people and the great men of the realm, which he effected more easily with the people, than with the nobility and head officers of the army.

CHAP. IV.

Folio 4,
Verso.

Then follows the beginning of the bloody war between the ~~Armagnac~~ and Burgundians. From this period he styles the count Armagnac constable, though it was many years after that this nobleman was advanced to that dignity.

The battle of St. Cloud is described by Amelgard much more minutely than by M. de Villaret, or even Monstrelet.

mulierem, velut equus aliquis emissarius adbinniebat, in quodam abdito palatii loco ipsius dominæ vestigiis insidiatus, & ut sua æstimatione reputabat, loci ac temporis opportunitatem nactus, eam de stupre seu adulterio sollicitavit. Cui sceleri magno animo resistenti, vim etiam inferre attentare præsumpsit. Quam injuriam ægre nimis & anxie ferens, ut generosa atque magnanima domina, optimo & ardenti animo viro suo conjuncta, vi repulsa, & nefando ipsius adulteri conamine depulso, se viro suo protinus querelam facturam de tantâ injuria comminata est; quod & facere non abraisset.

At

At this period he tells us count d'Aumale was expelled from Rouen. This is a fact I do not find mentioned in our authors, unless it is the same that M. Villaret dates in 1418.

CHAP. V. In relating the taking of Soissons, which, according to him, happened in 1414, on the festival of Saints Crispin and Crispianus, he adds that the inhabitants had too justly merited, by their dissolute manners, the chastisement they experienced; and that, according to vulgar tradition, the sacking of the city had been foretold. Forty years before, a child, led with his playfellows, by a schoolmaster, to the edge of the river, found a plate of metal, on which was written in ancient Roman characters, *væ tibi Sueffio, peribis ut Sodoma*. The horrors to which the city was exposed in this instance are more fully described by Amelgard than any other writer.

CHAP. VII. In like manner he says that the Fol. 6, taking of Harfleur may be considered Verso. as an effect of divine justice, which decreed that the city from which so great a number of pirates had for a long time issued should become in its turn the pray of the enemy, according, says he, to the saying of Isaiah: *væ! qui prædaris, nonne & ipse prædaberis, & qui spernis nonne & ipse sperneris! cum consummaveris deprædationem, deprædaberis.*

He

CHAP. VIII. He asserts that at the battle of Folio vii. Azincourt, the French army was Verso. four times as numerous as that of the English. He relates, but, without any confirmation, that Henry, before he resolved on giving battle, had offered the restitution of Calais and a large sum of money; and he says, that when the action was just about to begin, Henry harrangued his army in the following words:

“ Brave and dear companions, the hour is
“ come that you must fight, not for glory and
“ renown, but for life. The arrogance and cruelty
“ of the French are well known. It is certain, that
“ if through fear and cowardice you suffer your-
“ selves to be conquered, they will not spare a man
“ of you, but will slay you like so many sheep.
“ This will not be my fate, nor that of the princes
“ of my blood; for the enemy will be more careful
“ to preserve us, from the hopes of obtaining a
“ large ransom, than they will be eager to destroy
“ us. But you have no resource but in your cou-
“ rage; nor can you flatter yourselves that the
“ thirst of gain will induce a nation that bears you
“ the strongest and most inveterate hatred, to spare
“ your lives. If then you think life preferable to
“ death, remember, like heroes, the blood from
“ which ye sprung, the glory and fame that the
“ English have acquired in war, and fight like
“ brave and valient men, for the preservation of
“ your lives.”

He

CHAP. IX. He dates this battle on the festival
 Folio 7, of Crispin and Crispianus, not omit-
 Verso. ting that in this circumstance we may
 observe the finger of God thus punish-
 ing the acts of violence committed on the same
 day in the preceding year at the sacking of Soif-
 sons, in the monastery dedicated to these two saints.
 Let us add, however, to the praise of our author,
 and in confirmation of the sentence we have passed
 above, that he leaves the reader at liberty to adopt
 or reject this reflection. These are his words:
 "In this respect every one may think as he
 pleases; contenting myself with giving a true re-
 lation of events, I leave to bolder men than myself
 to endeavour to penetrate into the secrets of divine
 providence."

CHAP. XI. Speaking of the second invasion of
 Folio 8, the king of England in Normandy,
 Verso. Amelgard represents the inhabitants of
 that province in a condition which we
 cannot easily conceive to have been possible. Ac-
 cording to him, the people of this country, rendered
 effeminate by slavery and a long peace, were in a
 state of extreme simplicity. The greater part be-
 lieved the English not to be a nation, but a kind of
 wild beasts, who fell upon men to de-

CHAP. XIII. vour them. This assertion he repeats
 Folio 9, further on, adding, that this circum-
 Verso. stance was astonishing, as the inha-
 bitants of Normandy were only sepa-
 rated

parated from the English by a narrow arm of the sea.

CHAP. XIV. He says, that after the treaty of Folio 10, Troyes, whilst Paris remained in the Verfo. hands of the English, all the scholars of the university that took any degree were obliged to swear to observe that treaty.

CHAP. XVI. Amelgard pretends that Henry V. Folio 10, when he learned the death of his Verfo. brother, the duke of Clarence, at Beaugé, said, that he would have condemned the prince to death, if he had survived the battle, as a punishment for his rashness, and for having fought the enemy contrary to his orders.

The death of Henry he relates nearly in the same manner as Monstrelet; adding, that the people considered his death, occasioned by the disease vulgarly called *Saint Fiacre's*, as a punishment of the order, or at least permission, which that prince gave his army, in cold blood, to plunder the oratory and possessions of St. Fiacre, near Meaux, in an expedition of which I find no trace in any of our historians, not even in Duplessis.

BOOK II. Amelgard's narrative is rapid. The
CHAP. III. only event of the two first years of
Folio 13, the reign of Charles VII. that he
Verfo. relates circumstantially, is the battle
of

of Verneuil, and his account differs in many respects from that given by other historians. According to him, the Italians, whom others accuse of having fled first, and thrown the French line into disorder, by falling back upon it, performed, on the contrary, prodigies of valour. They not only pierced the line of infantry, in the van of the English army, but they penetrated through the midst of the remainder of the enemy, who would have lost the battle, if they had not opened to give a free passage to this determined troop. "The Italians," continues our author, "persuaded that the French were following them, pushed on to the baggage of the English, the greatest part of which they plundered." The *Journal of Paris** agrees with Amelgard in this fact, but relates it in a manner by no means honourable to these foreigners.

Amelgard does not determine the historical doubt, respecting whom we are to censure for the imprudence that brought on so ill-timed a battle, the consequences of which were for a long time fatal to France. He appears inclined to throw the blame on the Scots : at least he ascribes to their pride and arrogance the cruelty of that day's fight. According to him, the duke of Bedford, just before the action, sent to their chiefs to know on what terms they wished to engage ; they, full of arrogance, confiding in the strength and number of their

* *Journal de Paris*, 1424, pages 99 and 101.

troops, answered, if they were conquerors, they intended to give no quarters to the English, and expected no mercy if they were conquered. This circumstance is not mentioned in any historian that I have ever read, except that the Journal of Paris* seems to attribute these sentiments to all the French army in general. Amelgard gives

CHAP. XIV. this fact for a truth so undoubted, that
Folio 13, he allots a whole chapter, not a long
Verso. one indeed, to inform us, that this

slaughter and destruction of the Scottish auxiliaries was a compensation, and even an ample one, for the misfortunes of that day. This he assures us he often heard from the wisest ministers, with whom he had opportunities of conversing. "Such," said they, "were the audacity and
" presumption to which these strangers had arrived,
" that, despising and considering as nothing the
" troops of France, exhausted by so many foreign
" and civil wars, they purposed, had they been
" conquerors at Verneuil, to put to death all the
" nobles of Anjou, Touraine, Berry, and the
" neighbouring provinces, and to appropriate to
" themselves, as spoil, their wives, property, and
" estates."

BOOK III. The sixth chapter of the third
CHAP. VI. book is entirely taken up in painting
Folio 16. the calamities that laid France desolate, exhibiting a most affecting pic-

ture of the acts of violence and rapine committed by robbers. The reader would be tempted to suppose that the author is sometimes guilty of exaggeration when he says, that "in one year not less than ten thousand were taken and condemned to death by the courts of justice in the province of Normandy alone." Yet we can scarcely avoid crediting him, when he adds, that "this might easily be verified, both by the public registers and the account of sums paid for informations or taking of malefactors, whose heads had a price set on them."

CHAP. VII. In his account of the day of Herring-
Fol. 18. rings, Amelgard agrees with other
Verso. historians in almost every circumstance. In the superiority in numbers of the French army, however, he agrees only with the Journal of Paris, which makes it amount to seven thousand men, whilst the English was only two thousand.

CHAP. X. His account of *La Pucelle* is concise. I have only remarked that he
Fol. 19. says, on her arrival at Tours, she was
Verso. there three months (Monstrelet says two months) before the king could resolve on giving her an audience. He also reports, assuring us, that he heard it repeated by the count De Dunois, that Charles VII. confessed that this extraordinary maid, as a proof of her mission, had told him things concerning himself, which had been so secret that
she

he could have only known them from himself, or by divine revelation.

CHAP. XIII. Mentioning the restoration of
Fol. 20. Troyes, we find a passage that serves

Verſo. to explain the kind of prediction, for which La P^urelle at that time had the credit: that three days would not elapſe before the king would be received into the city. Amelgard takes no notice of this prediction, ſaying only, *aggreſſus itaque Trecaſ Companiæ urbem, concilio atque operâ probatiſſimi atque ſapientiſſimi viri, magiſtri Johannis Acuti, qui illius urbis epiſcopalem cathedram tenebat, & eccleſiaſtica ſtrenuè & nobiliter adminiſtrabat, in eâ urbe cum pace & lætitiâ receptus eſt.*

Amelgard mentions a remarkable circumſtance reſpecting the king's coronation. He ſuppoſes this coronation to have taken place at St. Dennis; and not through miſtake, for he twice diſtinguiſhes the conſecration at Rheims from the coronation of St. Dennis *.

But,

* Folio 20. *Carolus, Francorum rex, qui nondum inunctus*
Verſo. *more Chriſtianiſſimorem Francorum regum fuerat, nec regio diademate inſignitus ſeu coronatus, eo quod Remorum civitas in quâ reges conſecrari, & Pariſiorum urbi & villa ſeu oppidum S. Dionyſii in quo coronari eos aſſuetum erat, ſub Anglorum poteſtate adhuc tenerentur.*

Fol. 21. And farther on: *fuitque Remis cum magno triumpho & ingenti Francorum alacritate oleo ſancto inunctus & ſacratus, comitante ſemper Johannâ Puellâ, in virtli veſte & armis, regium exercitum cum ſuis antidiſtis militariſus ſignis.*
Volens

But, independent of the absolute silence of all other historians, his narration being sometimes confused and full of anachronisms, and particularly in this place, is sufficient to prevent our giving credit to a fact of this kind. For instance, he places a retreat of Charles VII. and a march of the duke of Bedford toward Senlis, then in the possession of the English; after the unfortunate assault of Paris: two facts not easily to be reconciled with the sequel of the history.

His reflections concerning La Pucelle are pious, but judicious. He is evidently inclined to believe that the divine power influenced those events in which she was concerned, and that there was something supernatural in that historical phenomenon. But, faithful to the laws of impartiality, he leaves his readers at liberty to think as their information, judgment and inclination, may lead them. *Talibus igitur de Johanna Puellâ recensitis, de cujus missione & apparitionibus & revelationibus per eam assertis, nulli pro suo captu & arbitrio quod voluerit sic vel aliter sentiendi adimimus facultatem.* It is here he adds, that, after the expulsion of the English, being ordered by the king to revise the trial of this unfortunate

Volens autem rex, & alias regni urbes, & loca provinciasque quæ adhunc sub hostium erant potestate, perlustrare, & præsertim regiam illam suam insignissimam Parisiorum civitatem, atque S. Dionysium, ubi diadema sceptrumque regale suscepturus erat, regnique solium conscensus, S. Dionysium cum suo exercitu petiit; quo loco, cum tantæ militiæ atque potentiæ ad resistendum inefficax esset, etiam in pace receptus est, atque inibi, ut regibus novis moris est, coronatus.

heroine, he composed a book, containing an examination of all the machinations that had been employed against her.

BOOK III. The first chapters of the third book
 CHAP. I. II. are taken up in describing the deplorable state of Normandy at that period,
 III. IV. V. and relating more or less circumstantially some of the actions of that war, that took place, when the inhabitants of that province, rising of their own accord, would have easily driven out the English, if they had received the least succour from Charles VII. Amelgard, in this instance, does not flatter that prince. He openly and boldly reproaches him with having betrayed, as it were, those unhappy people, whose natural inclination for their lawful sovereign rendered them the victims of the enemy: nor does he scruple to attribute to the king's love of pleasure and quiet, his omitting to avail himself of the exertions of his unfortunate subjects, who deserved a better fate. *Illi enim simplicissimi agrorum cultores, justissimam cum pietate vitam agentes, zelo ferventissimo ac naturali quodam amore, quibus ad Francorum regnum & regem, tamquam vetus & naturale imperium, erant affecti, patriam pro magna parte de Anglorum manu recuperaverunt; & sub regis sui revocarant dictionem. Ipse vero, convivii & lasciviis suas exsaturans libidines; & luxu atque inerti otio torpens, nullam providentiam adhibebat, ad illos sibi fidelissimos, sui que honoris & sublimationis zelantissimos amatores, fuendos atque defensandos. Sed*
potuis,

potuis, ab illis immanissimis hostibus suis, tanquam a cruentissimis bestiis, eos jugulari passim & discerpi simebat, & quodam modo faciebat.

These last words he explains, by saying, that the king's partizans were guilty of no less cruelties and robberies, than the English troops. He adds, that Charles VIIth's soldiers saw with regret the cities and towns of Normandy return voluntarily to the king, as it deprived them of the hopes they had entertained of enriching themselves at the taking and pillaging of these places, if they had been compelled by force of arms to submit. *Dolebantque quod tot oppida & castella patriæ ab Anglo-rum potestate eruissant, quasi minor prædas agendi, ad quas solummodo inieiebant, facultas per hoc eis relinqueretur.*

CHAP. IX. The insurrection of Normandy, the devastation of the country of Caux, the defeat, the wounding and death of the earl of Arundel at Gerberoy, are all described by Amelgard more carefully and circumstantially, than by any of our historians; as is also the ineffectual siege of Calais by the duke of Burgundy.

CHAP. XI. There are also some new particulars respecting the siege of Harfleur by the English, and the vain attempt of Count de Dunois, to succour that city.

CHAP. XV. One of the events of that war, which Folio 40. he takes most pains to relate, is the

siege of Pontoise in 1451. He mentions particularly circumstances that I do not find in any other historian, respecting Talbot's attempt on Poissi, where Charles VII. retired after the English had passed the Oise. According to him the king was within less than an hour of being taken. He was in bed when he heard that the English were at the gates of the city. He had scarce time to escape out of it, and, to use the expression of our historian, "his sheets were not cold," *adhuc cubilis sui linteamenta calentia invenerunt*, when Talbot entered the chamber of the convent of Poissi, from whence the king had just retired to Conflans. He does not conceal the cruelties that were committed at the taking of Pontoise. To show to what a point the troops were incensed against their enemies, he relates, that an Englishman, who, to escape death, had taken refuge under the belly of the king's horse, could not even there find the protection he sought; but, in spite of the entreaties, orders, and even menaces of the king, this wretch was torn in pieces with such fury, that the horse itself was near falling a victim. This excessive animosity, which, he says, he had from the king's mouth, Amelgard in some measure excuses. The French were irritated by Talbot's having inhumanly massacred, with his own hand, by cutting him to pieces with a hatchet, a French prisoner, whom he caused to be brought before him, after one of the actions that took place on attempting to supply the besieged with provisions.

CHAP. XVII. I ought not to omit, that between the taking of Pontoise and the siege of Dieppe by Talbot, then earl of Shaftsbury, Amelgard places an expedition of the duke of Somerset, of which I find no trace in our historians, except a slight mention of it* in Daniel and Rapi-
pin Thoiras. All he says here on the project of the duke is presumption, his conduct in that expedition, the unsuccessfulness of his enterprises, his returning with disgrace to England, which was soon followed by his death, is new; nor does it agree with the sequel of the account given by the English historians. It is not my object to reconcile Amelgard's relation with theirs. I shall content myself with adding, that this writer gives to the duke of Somerset a saying, of which, since the ancients, many statesmen have had the credit. The general officers of his army asking him one day his plan for the campaign, "if I Plutarch, *Ἡρί* "thought," replied he with a grave *ἀδολεσκήϊας*. p. and thoughtful air, "that my shirt 506, 33, de "knew my secret, I would burn it Metello. "this instant.

CHAP. XIX. There is also something worthy to be remarked in what he says on the marriage of Henry VI. with Margaret of Anjou.

According to him, the chancellor, who was one of the principals in negotiating the treaty, by

* Dan. vol. VII. page 201. Rap. Th. book XII. p. 102.

which the truce between the two kingdoms, and the marriage of the king were concluded, was at this time bishop of Chichester. On their arrival at Tours, (he adds) the English plenipotentiaries said that Henry would have ardently wished to obtain in marriage one of the daughters of the king, but that he was restrained by an insurmountable fear. The marriages of the daughters of kings of France with English princes had always been so unhappy, that even in France it was dreaded as ominous. In reality, these alliances had been the source of many calamities to that kingdom, as they had served as foundations and pretexts to rights or pretensions, which England had so long endeavoured to support by force of arms. Desirous, therefore, of submitting to the will of heaven, that seemed to reprove such unions, and not to renounce his alliance with so illustrious an house, their master contented himself with demanding a niece of the king, the princess Margaret, daughter of René d'Anjou, king of Sicily, Charles VIIth's brother-in-law.

On occasion of this marriage, Amelgard makes some philosophical reflections on the sad destiny of that princess, whose birth promised her more happiness. This is one of the places where his frequent and well-adapted quotations from Latin authors, particularly of verses and passages from the two Senecas, attest him to have possessed much learning, and a considerable degree of taste for the age in which he wrote,

Book IV. I must give the same opinion of the Chap. I. first chapter of the fourth book, which I have already mentioned. It is wholly taken up in describing the joy caused through all France by the conclusion of this truce, and the rejoicings of the people. The stile of Amelgard appears here to be animated, flowery and elegant. This chapter is full of imitations of Virgil.

Nothing particular respecting the establishment of the companies is to be met with in Amelgard, except what is related in the chronicle, page 427, published by Godefroy, which is no where else to be found. The chronicle says, "at the beginning of their establishment, an ordinance was made for the cities of the kingdom to furnish them (the companies) with lodging and diet, and a certain quantity of provision was allotted to each, both for themselves and their horses, to be delivered to them by the people." But this ordinance has since been changed, it being ordered, that each man at arms, properly equipped, should be paid thirty livers a month (for himself, his page and footman, two archers and a tent-maker) which was to be paid quarterly.

Amelgard says, *Porro, cum initio quo hujusmodi ordo & numeri militum statuti sunt, tanta esset exiguitas, pauperies atque inopia populorum, quod fiscalia & tributa regia in nihilum prope in quamplurimis Galliarum provinciis defluxissent, necessarium fuit in illis exordiis, magnâ ex parte stipendia militibus, non in numeratâ pecuniâ, sed in quantitate certæ annonæ &*

viſtualium neceſſariorum tam pro perſonis quam equis, taxari. Ita, quod una parochia, vel plures, ſi valde tenues, uni lanceæ providerent de annonâ taxatâ, alia alii, vel pluribus ſecundum multitudinem facultatem que parochiarum. Pedentim vero, cum inchoarent parochiæ in fortunas exereſcere pinguiores, ex regiis veſtigalibus quæ pro ſolutine bujuſmodi, lanciarum conſtituta ſunt ſtipendia ſolvi militibus conſtitutum fuit, & annonæ illæ militares in pecuniariam quantitatem mutatæ ſunt, atque quolibet menſe pro lanceâ cum duobus ſagitariis viginti ſcuta ami taxata.

This quotation I thought not ſuperfluous, as what relates to the eſtabliſhment of a remarkable epocha in our hiſtory, is not at preſent clearly known, as the decrees or ordinances, by which they were inſtituted, no longer exiſt. This account of Amelgard does not inform us whether this arrangement received its final ſanction at Nanci or Châlons; a point on which hiſtorians by no means agree.

CHAP. IV. What Amelgard ſays of the free-archers agrees with what is related by other hiſtorians, except one particularity which I find in him, that one archer was raiſed for every fifty hearths. *Ita quod per omnes civitates oppidaque atque rura ex quibuſque quinquaginta domibus unus vir deligeretur.* I know that the ordinance by which this ſecond ſtanding body of troops was eſtabliſhed, exiſts; but as it is not yet publiſhed, I have

have not been able to ascertain whether Amelgard be in the right on this article.

CHAP. V. Immediately after we meet with
and VI. a kind of dissertation, or rather decla-
Folio 49. matory *diatribe*, on the inconveni-
 encies that arose from the establish-
ment of those two bodies. Probably the author,
viewing the acts of violence, tyranny, and exaction,
that were exercised in the reign of Louis XI. per-
haps too, fearing that the example given in France
might soon be followed in the states of the duke of
Burgundy, in whose welfare he was much more in-
terested, saw that whilst this establishment contri-
buted to strengthen the prince against the enter-
prises of foreign enemies, it had at the same time
furnished him with the means of enslaving his sub-
jects, with a pretext too plausible, and unfortu-
nately always subsisting, of imposing arbitrary tri-
butes, and the force necessary to levy contribu-
tions. Probably too, the admirable order in which
Charles VII. had put and kept the several parts of
administration, during the latter part of his reign,
had not long subsisted under his successor; and the
foldiery, who had been narrowly watched whilst the
glorious and beneficent restorer of the French mo-
narchy lived, less restrained and more favoured by a
tyrant, who was obliged to keep well with them to
maintain his despotism, soon indulged themselves in
excesses and oppressions, of which the unarmed
multitude were daily the victims.

The

The picture Amelgard has given us of the wrongs and injuries which the inhabitants of the country, of the villages, or even of the cities, that were constrained to receive and lodge these dangerous guests had to suffer from them, can scarcely be suspected of falsehood, or indeed of much exaggeration. We may easily believe too, that Louis XI. naturally greedy, covetous, and cruel, had often set forth the necessity of supporting an establishment that appeared in the highest degree to have contributed to his father's glory, to authorise his increasing the taxes, or arbitrarily laying on new duties. But though we may agree with our historian on the facility which this soldiery, always subsisting and depending entirely on the prince, gave our kings the means of exercising a more arbitrary and despotic authority than their predecessors had enjoyed; yet it is not easy to admit all the reasonings by which he endeavours to prove, first, that at all times they might have been dispensed with; secondly, that at the time when he wrote (which I have already said must have been about the beginning of the reign of Charles VIII.) there was no longer any reason for preserving it, and that the circumstances, which at the beginning had seemed to render it useful (namely, the necessity of driving out of the heart of the kingdom, or at least of every moment repelling a powerful and dangerous enemy), no longer existing, in future there could be only inconveniencies and no good to be expected

expected from it. This passage, however, does honour to the sensibility, prudence, and sagacity, of the historian.

These two chapters are well written, and present reflections and political views, which, though not equally just, give not the less favourable idea of the heart and intentions of the historian, and are at the same time interesting to the reader. The different quotations of the best Latin authors, and the comparison of the situation and government of several ancient states with those of France, are a fresh proof of the erudition I have above ascribed to him.

CHAP. VII. His relation of the expedition of
Folio 52, the dauphin against the Swiss, short
Verso. as it is, offers us particulars not to
be passed over unnoticed, because of
the obscurity in which this fact is involved from
the disagreements in the accounts given by historians; and also because in one circumstance he contradicts them. Most writers assure us, that the garrison of Basle made a sally, during the action that took place in the environs of that city. Amelgard says directly the contrary: he positively affirms that the inhabitants remained simple spectators of the massacre of the Swiss, borne down by an army too superior to them in number, for all their courage to resist. Yet it was partly to defend that city, against the design they supposed the dauphin had of attacking it, that they had come under its walls. According

cording to our author, the people would have gone out to assist the Swiss, but were withheld by their more prudent chiefs, who foresaw the danger to which they would be exposed: "A sage reflection," adds he, "and which I cannot but think salutary, as an unarmed multitude on foot, however numerous, marching against troops strong in cavalry, well armed and disciplined, would have served only to increase the carnage, like a herd running blindly to the slaughter."

The rest of this narrative is by no means derogatory to the glory of the Swiss, and agrees with their account, which makes their number amount only to two thousand men.

CHAP. IX. All that Amelgard says of the different negotiations that took place during the years 1445, 46, 47, 48, and preceded the retaking of Mans, which the English had promised to evacuate on their first acceding to the truce at Tours, in 1444, is exact, though not very circumstantial. He even mentions a voyage of the Count de Dunois to England, which certainly took place, as is proved by the acts inserted in Rymer's Collection, though not mentioned by Daniel or Villaret, perhaps because none of our original historians say any thing of it.

CHAP. X. After this he briefly relates the troubles of England, and the death of the duke of Gloucester. He does justice
to

to the great qualities of that prince, and represents him as a man of much learning and erudition. We meet with one particularity here which seems to me to be worth mentioning. Our author relates that the bishop of Chichester, Adam de Moleyne, the lord chancellor, who had been so frequently employed in the different negotiations begun, interrupted, and resumed, during the truce; at his final return to England, disputing with the crew of the ship that had carried him, about the price agreed on for his passage, they arose and cut off his head. I am not surprized to find no mention of this particular circumstance, either in Rapin Thorias, or Hume, though the person it concerns makes a considerable figure in history, his conduct, as well as the treaties of which he was the negotiator, or rather arbiter, having greatly contributed to the important revolutions which at this period ruined England and restored France: in Monstrelet* only is there any thing to be met with, which seems to have a reference to this event. "At this time, and in the said year (1449), about the end of Lent, a great commotion of the people of London was excited, at the head of which was the mayor of that city, who, instigated by the unreasonable will of the enemy, inhumanly murdered the bishop of *Cloxetre*, chancellor to the king of England, who was a plain good man of great learning." But, besides that Adam de Moleyne was bishop of Chichester, not of Gloucester, if he was

* Vol. III. fol. vii. anno 1449.

killed, as Amelgard relates, his death must be placed between the end of December 1449, and the early months of 1450; for I find in Rymer,

a letter of king Henry VI, dated the
VOL. V. 9th of December 1449, by which, in
Part 2, consideration of the great age and long
Page 20. and important services of that prelate,
he dispenses with all the duties of his

office, and gives him permission to leave the kingdom, and return to it whenever he should please, with liberty to take with him, or cause to be carried by whom he pleased, to the value of five hundred marks. And farther on, in the same

Page 25. collection, we meet with another letter of the same prince, dated the 30th of May 1450, granting Renaud, bishop of Aspaw, lately appointed by the pope (these are the terms of the letter) to the bishopric of Chichester, replevy of the regales of the latter, as having the oath of allegiance, respecting whatever the pope's bulls might contain contrary to the rights of the king.

Orleans, it is true, says that the death
LIB. VI. of the bishop of Chichester was an effect of the intrigues of the York party,
Page 97. and that he was assassinated at Portsmouth by a band of fishermen: but as he places

this fact in 1453, it is evident that he has taken no pains to acquire accurate information. The examining into these circumstances has served more and more to convince me, of what has already been remarked by several, that the chronicle of

Mon-

Monstrelet has been copied in several places, word for word, from that of John Chartier; this latter, however, says nothing of the death of the bishop of Chichester.

CHAP. XI. Amelgard appears more exact than
Folio 55, other historians in his account of the
Verso. nomination of the duke of Somerset
to the command in Normandy. He
says that this post was long contested between this
nobleman and the duke of York. Each had many
partizans in the council and in the parliament of
England, and first one carried it, and then the
other: the authors words are, *unde evenit ut, per
fautores partum in Anglicano consilio, uni hodie pro-
vincia regenda, alteri vero in crastino committi alter-
nando, decreta obstineretur.* One day a commission
was published at Rouen, giving the government to
the duke of York; and the day after another, re-
storing it to Somerset, with whom it finally re-
mained. He would have been capable of render-
ing great service to his king and country in this
post, if avarice had not stifled the good qualities
he possessed.

CHAP. XII. The taking of Fougères, which
Folio 56, served as a reason or pretext for
Verso. breaking the truce is very circum-
stantially related.

CHAP. XIV. The exact and natural picture
 Folio 58, Amelgard gives of the different emo-
 Verso. tions with which the duke of Somer-
 set was agitated, when he learnt at
 Rouen, where he then was, the surprise of Pont de
 l'Arche, is very interesting. None of the other
 historians enters into this minutely. He says,
 on this occasion, that the bishops of Bayeux, Aux-
 anches, and Lisieux, were that day
 Montstrelet, (according to Montstrelet the 16th of
 Vol. iv. May, 1449), present at Rouen, be-
 Folio 8. cause they had been enjoined to be
 there the day before to hold a coun-
 cil. This, perhaps, would deserve attention, and
 furnish matter to some researches that might not
 be uninteresting, but which are foreign to the object
 of this extract.

CHAP. XVI. At the taking of Pont-audemer,
 Folio 60, what historians call newly-invented
 Verso. fuses, Amelgard only says was a
 common arrow set on fire, which,
 shot by an archer, fell on thatched roofs, where the
 fire catching was communicated to other houses.

CHAP. XVII. Our historian, like others, speak-
 Folio 60, ing of the surrender of Lisieux, gives
 Verso. the honour of it to the wisdom and
 prudence of the bishop, Thomas
 Bazin. Without wishing to diminish the reputa-
 tion

tion of that prelate, I cannot but observe that Amelgard might have added, that this negociation was not usefess to the increasing the episcopal rights:

of this we may be convinced by

VOL. XI. reading the article in *Gallia Chris-*
Col. 795. *tiana* concerning this bishopric.

CHAP. XVIII. The figure which Thomas Ba-
Folio 62. zin makes in history, during the
Verso. reign of Louis XI. renders it worth

noticing, that Amelgard ascribes to him also, the plan of operations followed by the generals of Charles VII. at the beginning of the invasion of Normandy. According to him, the counts of Dunois and St. Paul, Gaucourt, Pothon de Xainctrailles, Bresé, Torcy, &c. were obliged to yield to the interested counsels the bishop gave them, for the direction of their marches and enterprises.

CHAPTERS

XIX. XX. In all that concerns the re-
taking of Normandy I have re-
XXI. XXII. marked but two things: one re-
XXIII. XXIV. lative to the date of the surrender
XXV. XXVI. of Rouen, which Amelgard fixes
on the 27th or 28th of October

1449; the other concerning the artillery that served at the siege of Caen: what he says of this appears exaggerated. He pretends that, amongst others, there were twenty-four bombards or padereroes, of so great a bore that a man might sit within it,

VOL. II.

T

with

with his head upright; and that a shot was fired from one of these pieces with such force that, having overturned a tower, and beaten down many houses, it afterwards went through several walls.

Book V. The abridged relation Amelgard Chap. III. gives of the troubles in England, at Fol. 74. the return of the dukes of York and Reſto. Somerſet, by no means agrees with that of other hiſtorians. If we may believe him, Somerſet did not fall in the battle of St. Albany, as almoſt all writers ſay, but was knocked on the head in an inn, where he had a kind of interview with the duke of York. The king was wounded with an arrow on this occaſion: the duke of York brought him to London, and remained there ſome time maſter. Shortly after, obliged to quit that city, he raiſed an army, but was in a ſtill ſhorter time under the neceſſity of ſeeking a reconciliation with the king. He obtained his pardon, but was obliged to enter London in an ignominious manner, going before the king, with his head bare, between two prelates, or peers of the realm. All theſe relations are far from exact, are confuſed, given in an irregular order of time, and not well authenticated. It is not my buſineſs to ſet them right, or put them in proper order; but I thought it right to point them out, as a proof of what I have ſaid, that Amelgard does not appear to have taken much pains to inſtruct himſelf thoroughly in what paſſed in foreign countries, and that his narrative

rative is only exact, and to be depended on, with respect to the affairs of Normandy, or the neighbouring provinces.

CHAP. IV. The fourth chapter of the fifth Fol. 75. book is perhaps one of the most interesting of this history, as it throws great light on the revolution that happened in Aquitaine; the cause of which neither ancient nor modern historians have well explained. Monstrelet alone seems to have had an idea of the cause to which our author attributes this insurrection. “And it was generally reported, that the inhabitants of the country of Bordelois surrendered voluntarily to the English, on account of the great displeasure they took in the king’s having laid great taxes and subsidies on the country after his conquest; so that the servants of the king treated them much more rigorously than the English had done.” In the histories of John Chartier and Matthew de Coney, who have been followed by P. Daniel and M. de Villaret, we find no sufficient reason for this sudden and unexpected rebellion. Let us hear Amelgard: he will explain it. Perhaps this quotation, more extensive than all we have hitherto inserted, will not be displeasing; perhaps too it will not be useless to the perfect knowledge of the state of the interior administration of the finances and commerce of France and England at this period.

“ After Aquitaine had voluntarily returned to its allegiance to France, in 1450, (Amelgard is mistaken, the capitulation of Bourdeaux, and the entire reduction of Aquitaine, did not take place till 1451 ; but we have already observed, that this writer’s chronology is not exact) the people were at first treated with sufficient mildness and humanity. For one year they were exempted, as they had been promised, from taxes, imposts, and other exactions, that had unhappily for many years oppressed the rest of the kingdom. But the tyrannical plunderers of the other parts of France, envious of the liberty and happiness of these new subjects, soon endeavoured to reduce them also under the yoke. They began to levy taxes and customs on them ; the laying on of which they glossed over with the most plausible pretext. They asserted, that it was neither for their own private emolument, nor that of the public treasury ; but solely for the benefit of the province, that the king authorized them to exact these duties. The money raised by them, they said, was only for the payment of the troops garrisoned there, in order to be ready to repress the enterprizes of the inveterate enemies of France. Charles had no other end but to maintain the repose of Aquitaine, both in time of war and peace. It ought not to consider this as a heavy or vexatious burthen, since the money paid, would remain in its own district, and, being expended by the troops amongst those by whom it was contributed, would return to the purses from whence it had

had issued. The king had just reason to fear the ill intentions, treachery, and machinations of an enemy who had so long held Aquitaine under its dominion. The English, deprived of the advantages that accrued to them from the possession and habitation of so fine a country, would certainly attempt every method, both of secret intrigues and open force, to recover the dominion they had lost. From Aquitaine they obtained the wines England wanted. In Aquitaine they found a sure vent for the cloaths and merchandizes with which their kingdom abounded, with a facility of conveying them into Spain and the other neighbouring countries, to the great advantage of their nation, rather than of the Bordelois and inhabitants of the province. Consequently, enterprises were to be feared on their part, the consequences of which a wise prince ought to prevent, though they should be mad enough to risk the danger."

" By these pretexts and discourses (common to financiers, when they would stifle the complaints and murmurs of the provinces of France, whose substance they consume) they sought to make the Bordelois and Gascons submit to the burthen of their impositions; but the people always resisted them. They sent to the king a solemn deputation to request that they might be permitted to enjoy the liberties, immunities and repose, that had been promised them on the submission of the province. The concessions that had been made them, sealed with the royal signet, ought to be respected by

the king, as the oath of fidelity which they had taken, was respected by them. They asserted, that they were capable of protecting themselves against the enterprises of the English, much better than any garrison that could be stationed in the country. This was their situation under the English : they had always been free from the inconvenience of garrisons, imposts and taxes, though their enemy was then much nearer them ; nor were the places in their possession separated from them by a wide sea. At present, instead of enemies, they had the friends and allies of their king around them, whilst the ocean served as a barrier against the English. They could not therefore fear being able to defend themselves alone against those islanders. It would be ill providing for their real advantage, if they were to be subjected to a present and perpetual slavery, (more fatal than the worst they had to fear from an enemy) from a groundless apprehension of uncertain and improbable evils. They had no need of these remedies, worse than all the ills that could possibly happen to them."

" These remonstrances, by which the Aquitaines endeavoured to defend themselves to the king, were scarcely listened to. Charles, prejudiced by his officers of finance, as well as by his generals and captains, paid little attention to them ; and answered, that they must submit to pay the imposts for the support of the troops necessary to the security of the province."

" This

“ This deputation,” continues Amelgard, “ found the king at Bourges. At their return they had only to give an account of the refusal they had met with. The province was enraged at it; and instantly concluded that it was resolved to subject it to the same slavery as the provinces of France, where the blood-suckers of the state boldly advanced, as a fundamental maxim of government, that the king had a right to tax all his subjects, how and when he pleased. This is to establish the principle, that in France no one has any thing he can call his own, and that the king may take every man’s all at his pleasure; the true condition of slaves, whose possessions, though the produce of their own industry, and which their masters permit them to have, belong to him in reality, as much as their persons, and may be taken from them at his will. In this situation the people of Aquitaine, particularly the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, affrighted, and instigated besides by a part of the nobility, were secretly employed in seeking the means of recovering their ancient liberty; and as they had still many connexions of friendship and interest with several English lords, they entered into treaty with them, &c.”

CHAP. V. As to the relation of the actions that
Fol. 76. took place after the open revolt of the
Verso. province, and the account of its fresh
reduction under the power of the king,
our author says nothing but what is to be found

Chap. VI. elsewhere. I have only remarked, that
 Fol. 77. in making the eulogium of the cele-
 Verso. brated grand master of the artillery,
 John Burean, he says positively, that
 John had been many years in the service of the
 English, which scarcely agrees with what P. Griffet
 says, in a dissertation, annexed to the seventh vo-
 lume of the new edition of P. Daniel,
 Page 363. and where is collected nearly all that
 has hitherto been known of the two
 brothers who have made the name of Burean so
 famous.

I observe also that Amelgard, in
 CHAP. VII. relating the action in which the fa-
 Fol. 78. mous Talbot fell, is less favourable
 Verso. to that general than most other histo-
 rians. He places in a stronger light
 the unpardonable imprudence with which that old
 warrior (he was then above eighty) persisted in at-
 tacking the French intrenchments without suffi-
 cient forces, on the sole persuasion that they would
 yield to the terror of his name. He makes him
 also die less gloriously than is elsewhere reported.
 According to him, Talbot being wounded, intreated
 they would spare his life, offering large sums for
 his ransom; but the archers who had overtaken
 him, would not listen to him, and pierced him with
 wounds, in revenge, adds Amelgard, for the cruel-
 ties he had so often exercised against their country-
 men. And it was right, continues he, that the
 man who had always shown himself so inhuman, so
 thirsty

thirsty after blood, should at last receive a just recompence for the manner in which he had lived.

CHAP. XI. I cannot avoid remarking, that
Page 84. Amelgard, in speaking of the diseases that reigned in Flanders after the taking of Ghent, towards 1453, 1454, mentions what was in his time called *pestis inguinaris*.

CHAP. VIII. Amelgard appears, in all that con-
IX. X. XI. cerns the war that broke out between the duke of Burgundy and the people of Ghent, more inclined to justify the motives of the duke than those of the unhappy citizens. It is well known that the first occasion of the rebellion of the Flemings was the imposition of the *gabelle*, which appeared to these people in general an insupportable burden, and to the inhabitants of Ghent, in particular, a violation of their privileges. Our author inclines to believe, that it was the pride of the latter alone by which they were induced to revolt from their sovereign, and that the new impost did not in the least contribute to it. This opinion he founds on two reasons: the first, that the duke remaining conqueror, and capable of exterminating, if he had pleased, all the inhabitants of Ghent that were left, we nowhere find him persist in his intention of establishing this impost: the second, that if the real and common interest of their country had alone animated these proud citizens, they certainly would not have been deserted, as they entirely were, by all the Flemings. If he
tells

tells us nothing new with respect to the events of this war, which was cruel and deplorable, for that country he at least relates them with energy; and notwithstanding his partiality for the duke of Burgundy, he commends Charles VII. for not assisting subjects in rebellion against their legal master, otherwise than by his mediation,

CHAP. XII. All that Amelgard says of the Folio 84, conduct of the dauphin Louis in Verfo. Dauphiny, and of the subjects of discontent he gave the king his father, perfectly corresponds with what is found in the remarks of P. Griffet, and absolutely contradicts the manner in which M. Duclos represents these circumstances.

CHAP. XV. We not only learn nothing new of Folio 87, the retreat of the dauphin into Burgundy, the reception he met with Verfo. from duke Philip, the proposal which the latter had made some time before to Charles VII, respecting a crusade against the Turks, and the negotiation of the marriage of Ladislas, king of Hungary, with a daughter of the king; but we also perceive, still more strongly than any where else, how heartily the author was a partizan of the duke of Burgundy. He omits nothing that tends to discover a disposition in the king to disquiet the duke, or weaken his power, and at the same time does not fail to display the good faith and sincerity with

with which he supposes the latter became and remained reconciled to the king of France.

CHAP. XVI. In the same spirit, he believes that
Folio 89, Charles supported Henry VI. against
Recto. the duke of York, merely to injure
the duke of Burgundy; as if the
ties of kindred that bound him to a rightful, unfortunate, and weak king, were insufficient to induce a prince, as generous as Charles VII. to support him against unjust pretensions.

CHAP. XXI. For the same reason, undoubtedly,
Folio 94, when he relates the death of Charles,
Verso. he appears more sensible of the advantage the duke of Burgundy would derive from the melancholy event, than of the irreparable loss France would suffer. He does not conceal that his death was suspected to have been occasioned by poison; but he says nothing of the abstinence to which it is pretended Charles condemned himself. If M. de Villaret had been acquainted with the work of Amelgard, he would not have asserted that no contemporary historian mentions the indecent joy that Louis XI. is reproached with having shewn on hearing the death of his father. Our author thus expresses himself:

“ The suspicion of poison was so much the more credited, as the dauphin not only shewed no signs of grief at his father’s death, but made presents,
and

and even considerable ones, to the person who brought him the first news of it, as if he had heard of the most agreeable event. He sat off immediately for Avesne-le-Comte, where he caused no other obsequies to be celebrated for his father than a few masses one morning, without any solemnity; and the same day, at noon, he appeared in a short coat of white and purple, his head covered with a hat of the same colour. In this dress he hunted in the afternoon, with his courtiers dressed like himself. One of his first cares was to set at liberty his father's physician, Adam Fumée, who Charles VII. had caused to be imprisoned in the castle of Bourges the moment he feared being poisoned; and not content with setting him at liberty, he treated him with much honour. He did the same to a surgeon, who, even before the king expired, seeing himself suspected, had fled to Valenciennes. Finally, when at his return into the kingdom, many of the officers and other persons of his court came to meet him, cloathed in mourning, out of respect and love for the late king, he forbade their appearing before him, till they had taken other dresses, and quitted those marks of sorrow and regret."

CHAP. XXII. The last chapters are employed
 XXIII. XXIV. in tracing the portrait, character,
 XXV. XXVI. and general conduct, both in the
 Folio 94. higher departments of administration, and in particular affairs of Charles VII.

Amelgard

Amelgard is by no means favourable to Agnes Sorel, whose fidelity he praises no more than that of the king in their mutual amours : *nec eam quippe solam, nec ipsa eum solum*. He called the place where he died Adefville, adding (what I find no where else) that Charles gave the estate of Anneville to the abbey of Jumièges, to found an obituary in commemoration of Agnes Sorel.

One of these chapters is dedicated to the History of Jacques Cœur. What Amelgard says of him agrees with all that has hitherto been ascertained respecting this celebrated person, namely, his imprisonment, trial, condemnation, release, or flight ; his new detention or retreat, whether forced or voluntary, at Beaucaire ; and his escape, favoured, or rather procured, by one of his associates. Our historian's account strengthens the more than probable conjecture of M. Bonamy, on the manner in which Jacques Cœur finished his days, not in Cyprus, but Chio. " After his escape from Beaucaire," says Amelgard, " Jacques Cœur obtained of pope Nicholas V. (it ought rather to be Calixtus III.) the command of some gallies which that pontiff had armed against the infidels. In this naval war, during which he died, leaving a great reputation, he distinguished himself for some time."

In another chapter, Amelgard does justice to the zeal, always moderate and circumspect, towards the Romish church and its chief, with which

Charles

Charles VII. defended the liberties of the Gallic church. He boasts the wisdom and advantages of the *pragmatic sanction*. He also honours Charles for having respected the goods and possessions of the clergy and churches of his realm, even in the midst of the most pressing necessities.

In fine, he does homage to the mildness of that prince, his clemency and regard for his subjects; but he does not dissemble that his weakness and an irresistible inclination for pleasure, leading him into expences, often excessive, were the causes, that, under a king, otherwise so great, wise and good, the people were over-burthened with taxes, and more ill-treated by the financiers, than they might or ought to have been.

A N
A C C O U N T
O F A
SWEDISH MANUSCRIPT.

No. 10204,

ENTITLED

*Cronicum regum Sueciæ scriptum ab Olao Petri, fratre
Laurentii Trici, primi post reformationem archi-
episcopi, qui vixit circa annum 1520.*

By M. DE KERALIO.

THIS manuscript, in folio, on paper, is of the seventeenth century. The author has begun his chronicle at the reign of Eric I. and has finished it with that of Christian II. He speaks in the preface of this work of the obscurity, partiality, uncertainty, and fabulous narrations, with which the ancient chronicles of the north are filled; but in his own observations on the antiquities of Sweden, he shews but little criticism or knowledge. His work is very defective in the early times, but more exact in the middle age; and the author there particularly distinguishes himself by a great regard for truth. He blames the Swedish and Danish writers for having praised, in their ancestors, the spirit of conquest.

conquest. “ If we would judge equitably,” says he, “ of their expeditions, we shall find little glory
 “ in invading a country, the inhabitants of which
 “ have not done us any injury, to plunder, kill
 “ them, burn and destroy the effects of those who
 “ only wish to live in peace. It would have been
 “ more honourable for our ancestors to have been
 “ always peaceable, mild, humane, and contented
 “ with what Providence had given them, without
 “ invading and plundering the properties of others.
 “ Let the courage of the Goths be vaunted as
 “ much as we please, those who were the victims
 “ did not consider it in the same view ; they found
 “ in them only a swarm of murderers and tyrants,
 “ who took cities and provinces to which they had
 “ no right, and deprived millions of men of their
 “ fortunes and lives. Such were the effects of that
 “ courage so much extolled.” Olaf Petri manifests the same sentiments in his whole work, and always gives pacific princes the greatest eulogia. It was uncommon to think thus, and manifests great courage to speak in such strains, in an age, among a nation, and under a king, who assigned the first rank to military glory. It was perhaps this generous freedom which caused our author to fall under the disgrace of Gustavus I.

Olaf Petri allows the uncertainty which reigns in the Chronology of Sweden, before the establishment of Christianity in that kingdom ; and according to the example of most of the chronicles of his age, begins his work only with the birth of
 Jesus

Jefus Chrift, confeffing, that what concerned the firft kings he treats of, is dubious; that there has been perhaps either a greater or fmaller number than thofe he mentions. He particularly follows the hiftory of Eric Olai: thefe two authors have chofen unfaithful guides, and abandoned the fafeft, which are the annals of the Icelfander Are-Frodé, born in 1068, and the register of Upfal. Thofe two genealogical tables of the kings of Sweden, agree perfectly together, and it is probable that they contain only the princes who have been fovereigns. The chronicles of the fifteenth century have inserted feveral names of petty tributary kings, called *Fylkis Konungar*, and by this involved the hiftory and chronology in the greateft confufion.

The firft king the chronicle of Olaf Petri makes mention of, under the name of *Eric*, is not found in the two genealogical tables we have fpoken of, any more than his fucceffors Haldan, Goderik, Filmer, and probably Riorder, grand-child of Oden; but he makes him reign above one hundred years after the birth of Jefus Chrift; and according to the chronology adopted by M. Lagerbring, Riorder reigned about one hundred years before that epocha. His fon Inghe fucceeded him, and was the head of the houfe of the Inglingarians.

INGLINGARIAN RACE.

This prince is notoriously the fame, whom Inghe of the Register of Upfal, and the Ingve of Are-Frode mention. It is he that fixed the refidence

of the princes at Upsal, and built the famous temple, where all the people resorted to worship the gods of the country. Olaf Petri gave him for sons Nearque and Frode, who succeeded him, he says, and governed with so much wisdom, that they were honoured by the people like gods. Nearque having died, Frode reigned alone, and maintained his kingdom in peace, as it is, adds our author, the duty of kings to do. The Swedish chronicles attribute to this prince, what the Danish relate of the king of the same name, who was then reigning in Denmark; namely, that he ordained such severe punishments on violence and injustice, that none of his subjects, of what rank soever, durst offend against the laws. When they hailed the happiness of a man, they wished him *the peace of Frøde*. The genealogical tables above cited, not making any mention of this prince, it is probable, that the Swedish chronicles have not reckoned him among the kings of Sweden, but out of envy or vanity.

Olaf gives him for successor, Urban; and to him, Ostan. He reports, that Nore, the brother of the latter, reigned in Norway; and that his subjects having slain him, Ostan gave them a dog for sovereign, ordering, that whosoever would not render him the honours and the services due to his prince, should lose his head.

Here our chronicler places Fioln, or Sioln, and resumes his succession of kings, interrupted by the ill-placed insertion of Urban and Ostan. Agreeable to the most credible authors, this Fioln, son of

of Ingve, mounted the throne after his father. He lived in peace with his neighbours. It was not yet thought on, says Lagerbring, that, to maintain the prosperity of the kingdom, it was indispensable to persevere in perpetual hostilities with Denmark. The wise Frode was then on the throne; a close friendship subsisted always between these two peaceful princes. The Danish monarch having paid a visit to that of Sweden, the latter withdrawing from the repast, where, according to the manners of those times they drank to excess, he strayed during the night, and drowned himself in a tub of mead.

Swerker, or Swedgker, his son, reigned (A. C. 1) after him. The Edda and the Iceland histories refer the reign of Frode, king of Denmark, to this epocha. Thus Swerker, or his father, was on the throne when Jesus Christ was born. Yet, following the succession of reigning princes, and the chronology adapted by Olaf Petri, Swerker would be posterior about three hundred years to the birth of Jesus Christ,

Vanlander, his son was a warlike prince; but his expeditions are not known. He had a son named Wisbour, who succeeded him; the latter was burnt in his house with his whole attendance, by his two sons, Olaf Petri, following here Eric Olai, who has consulted the ^{ruined} chronicles only, says, that they were induced to this action by the desire of reigning; but they were urged by another motive, which palliates a little the atrociousness of their crime. Wisbour had repudiated their mother, and

refused to pay her dowry, which was an injustice and a violation of the law. They did not reign after their father; it was Domalder, born of a second marriage, who ascended the throne. All Sweden was distressed in his reign by a scarcity: the people offered to the gods in the first year the ordinary sacrifices, but in the second, human victims; but seeing that the scourge could not be averted, they judged the sovereign to be the cause, and Domalder was sacrificed. Our chronicle seems to believe, that this prince had, with his brother, stained his hand in the murder of their father; but he had not the same reasons, and the rhyming chronicle, which this author copies, generally is silent about it.

After the death of Domalder his son Domar ascended the throne; his reign was long and peaceful.

Olaf Petri gives him for successor, a son named *Attil*, who is not in the genealogical tables of Upsal and of Are-Frodé; he attributes to him the conquest of Denmark, and the establishment of a dog, called *Racka*, for the sovereign of that kingdom, with several circumstances of which the Danish annals make no mention, any more than of the dog *Racka*.

According to our chronicle, Dingner, son of *Attil*, reigned in Sweden after his father. This Dingner is without doubt the Dugwé, son of Domar, whom the above-cited tables give him for successor. He was the first of the Inglingarian family who assumed the title of king. The princes of the former family,
called

called *Forniotherian*, had borne it, but since Oden inclusive; the sovereigns of Upsal had taken only the title of drott or lord.

Dagher, son of Dugwe, having succeeded his father, (anno domini 200) was desirous to obtain from the Danes the tribute they paid to his ancestors, and was killed on his return from an expedition he had made into their country.

Our chronicler still subverts the order of the generations and successions, giving as sons to Dagher, Alric and Eric; these two princes were born of Agne, son and successor of Dagher. Agne subdued Finland, where Frosté then held the sceptre: the latter had a daughter named *Schalf*; the conquering prince fell in love with her and espoused her: this union, which was an error in politics, cost him his life. The queen surprized the king, who was attending a great feast, in drunkenness, hung him on a tree, and disappeared with her attendants.

His two sons, Alric and Eric, reigned together after their father. The history of Sweden here makes mention, for the first time, of the *filkis-konungar*, or tributary kings, though it be a fact, that before that time, several lords had taken the title of kings; particularly those who descended from the royal house of Upsal, that is, from the Forniotherian family: Sturleson says that Alric and Eric were rich men, great warriors, and industrious. They had at their court twelve valiant men, who were the support of the throne; to them was added a famous warrior of that time, called Starkader, who

in the same time was skald or poet. The other worthies of that court took umbrage, and bestowed on him contempt and injuries; but Starkader repelled them only by shewing to the enemies of his sovereign, a courage superior to that of his rivals.

The favourite diversion of Alric and Eric was exercise on horseback, and the ability in the art of riding, was for them a subject of rivalry. They one day went from those who accompanied them; the latter missing them, went in quest of them a long time; at last they perceived their horses straying in the country, and looking about them, they discovered the two princes on the ground near each other, their faces covered with blood, and in their hands the bridle of their horses: they presumed that they had quarrelled, and being unarmed, they fought each other with those bridles.

Alric died and his brother reigned alone. He had only one daughter, named *Thorborg*, who, disdaining the ordinary feminine occupations, consecrated herself from her earliest years to all the exercises of war. When her father had settled an estate on her, she took man's habits, the cuirass, helmet and sword, changed her name from that of *Thorborg*, and took the title of king. She fixed her residence at Oulleroker, (*Ulleraker*) and received with distinction all warlike people that came to her court, as long as they had no intentions of marriage.

A warrior famed for his valour reigned in the Western Gothland; his name was *Rolf*. The sovereign

reign power he was vested with did not belong to him by right of nature, but Kiettil, his elder brother, had the generosity to yield it to him, as he knew himself inferior to Rolf in the requisite qualities for a good governor. Kiettil knowing of no wife that might suit his brother better than the princess of Sweden, advised him to ask her in marriage. Rolf having at first obtained the consent of king Eric, went to present himself to Thorborg, covered with ~~one~~ ^{an} arm, and sword in hand; the demand was as stoutly rejected as it was made. Thorborg answered that it had never been her intention to turn a drudging woman or a maid to any one; and she having taken up her weapons, and armed her people, forced this pretender to make his retreat. Judging however that a warrior like Rolf, would not be frightened from his enterprize, she hastened to encompass her house with an intrenchment. Eric gave permission to this prince to effect his project at any rate; he returned therefore at the head of a numerous troop, and after repeated fruitless attacks, leaped over the entrenchment. Surprized to find nobody therein, and to see only tables covered with all kinds of dishes, he was soon aware that a secret passage had favoured the flight of the princess, and that those dishes were left there only as a temptation in their way, on the pursuit. Every corner was searched out; they discovered the entrance of a subterraneous passage, they traced it, and, at the other extremity, they saw Thorborg and her troop in order of battle. The

combat was hot, and for some time uncertain; victory at last declared for the prince, and Thorborg became his prisoner. She was treated with the greatest respect, and repaired to Upsal, to her father, where she quitted her man's dress, and married her conqueror.

Eric left two sons, Alf and Ingve, who reigned together; Olaf Petri calls the latter Ingheller; Alf was of a fretful temper, slow, melancholic, insensible to military glory; Ingve on the contrary was sprightly, chearful, affable and courageous, loving arms, and ambitious of glory and combats; these qualities pleased Bera, wife of Alf. When her brother-in-law was returning from his expeditions, she loved to entertain herself with him 'till late in the night, whilst her husband, who was fond of rest, went to sleep at an early hour in the evening; he frequently told her that he was dissatisfied at waiting for her so late in the night, and the princess imprudently replied, that she should be much happier to be the wife of Ingve than of Alf. The prince, irritated, one night ran into the room where Bera and Ingve were conversing together, and run his brother through before the persons present could perceive it. Ingve feeling himself wounded, drew his sword, gave Alf a mortal wound, and fell dead near him.

This event, and some others of the same reign, give a specimen of the manners of those times. There was then, at the court of Sweden, a celebrated warrior named Hialmar, in an expedition
he

he undertook with fifty vessels each, ^{with} ~~and~~ an hundred men on board, he landed with his whole troop, and was met by Orwar Odd, a famous pirate, who having with his people, slipped into an adjacent wood, could surprize and defeat him with facility. But such easy victories were then exploded; he put off the battle to the next day, and presented himself in combat to the Swedish warrior, who asked him who he was, and what was his intention. It was answered, that Orwar Odd was desirous to learn which of them was the better man; Hialmar accepted the proposal, and as his troop was the most numerous, he dismissed the excess, and rendered it equal to that of his adversary, as was the custom at this time by sea and land: the fight lasted the whole day without any advantage on either side; towards the evening the chiefs held out their shields, and the troops ceased to fight. The trial was recommenced on the morrow with the same success. The third day, the two parties being upon the point of giving a new proof of their strength, the two chieftains, satisfied with the valour they had shewn, mutually swore an eternal friendship, and became companions in arms. But Hialmar stipulated the conditions that none of them should ever eat raw flesh, nor drink blood, nor plunder the merchants or peasants, except in extreme necessity, and that they would oblige no woman to accompany them.

After several expeditions into Zeland, Ireland, and in several other countries, the two brothers in arms went to the court of Upsal, and there
fixed

fixed their ordinary residence. There was then a famous warrior, named *Arngrim*, who inhabited Bolmseu (Bolmso); he had twelve sons, among whom Angantyr was renowned for his extraordinary courage; the third of these children, Hiorwarder, vowed to espouse Ingheborg, daughter of the king of Sweden, or never to marry. The twelve brethren went to Upsal the following spring, and proposed that alliance. Hialmar loved the princess, but he did not dare to open himself, because it seemed that Ingve was not disposed to grant her to any one but a sovereign: when he heard of the proposal of the sons of Arngrim, he declared his pretensions, and begged to be preferred to a foreign warrior, who was known only by violences and robberies. The prince having referred the choice to his daughter, she preferred Hialmar. Immediately Hiorwarder, in compliance with the custom of the worthies of those times, challenged Hialmar to a duel at Samseu (Samson); Hialmar joyfully received the proposal, and the day of combat was fixed. Unused to count the number of his adversaries, he repaired to the field of battle, accompanied only by his brother in arms, to fight the twelve sons of Arngrim: the fame of Augantur was so great, that he was looked upon as more formidable than his eleven brethren. Orwar was glad to bring such an antagonist to the test; but Hialmar judged that it would be shameful for him to permit his friend to be exposed to such danger, and took to himself the honour of fighting this all-

potent

potent warrior: thus Orwar withstood the eleven other brethren, and killed them all in succession. The other battle was longer and more serious: Angantur fell at last, but Hialmar died of his wounds; in expiring he delivered his ring to his brother in arms, and recommended him to carry it to Ingheborg with his last farewell: the princess received it, and died with grief.

Olaf, always keeping to the Danish chronicles, reports, that Iorunder was son and successor of Ingve; that he had three sons, named Olaf, Inghé, and Ingheller, who made war on Harald Hildetand, king of Denmark, and were vanquished. According to him, the first two perished; Ingheller was obliged to make his peace, and espoused the sister of Harald, by whom he had two sons, one named Hokenn Ring; who, with the protection of his father-in-law, inherited the throne. The same author adds what is related in the Swedish chronicles; according to these chronicles, Hokenn Ring, son of Iorunder, wishing to avenge the death of his father, took up arms against Harald Hildetand, and gave him a great defeat, in which the king of Denmark was slain with a club, by the conductor of the chariot, on which he was mounted. The Swedes lost twelve thousand men, and the Danes thirty thousand. The latter, frightened by such a considerable loss, submitted to Hokenn; they asked of him for their sovereign, a young maid named Heta, and the king of Sweden granted them this demand. However he kept the possession of
Scania

Scania for himself, and entrusted with its government a Norwegian, one of his relations, named Olo. The Danes, little satisfied with the administration of Heta, took this Olo for their king.

These facts, destitute of connection, truth, or coherence, deserve less credit than the plain and consistent recital of the Iceland authors. They report, that after the death of Olaf and Ingve, Houghleik, son of Olaf mounted the throne of Upsal: Eric and Iorunder, sons of Olaf, being minors, had no share in the government. Houghleik loved peace, rest, and pleasures: he drew together and maintained a great number of musicians and instrument players about him. In an age when military exploits were the only occupation which was looked upon as worthy of a king, this method of living must appear but slothful and effeminate. The famous and old warrior Starkader could not prevail on himself to remain in this inaction; he joined with a known pirate, named Hake, whom, according to all appearance, he persuaded to attack Houghleik by surprize. This prince, wholly employed in feasts and pleasures, took no precaution for his safety; he learned, unexpectedly, that an army of strangers was almost at the gates of Upsal. Immediately he assembles some troops in haste, marches towards the enemy, and came up with him near Furiswal; but his army, little disciplined, could not long face the enemy. Two brethren, named Swipdagher and Gheigadar, did prodigies of valour. Hake was obliged to oppose to each
of

of them six of his bravest warriors ; but the struggles of these two valiant combatants were of little use ; they fell into the hands of the enemy. The Swedes terrified, took flight, Houghleik and his two sons were killed, and Hake took possession of the throne of Sweden.

Eric and Iorunder, the two sons of Ingve, attempted to wrest from the usurper the inheritance of their father, after some expeditions which they undertook to exercise themselves, they entered Sweden at the head of an army, which progressively increased, as it was known to be conducted by the two princes. Hake marched against them with forces very unequal, yet he proved victorious, killed the prince Eric, and drove Iorunder from the field of battle ; but the conquering king, mortally wounded, saw that his end was drawing near. To close it in a manner that might render his memory immortal, he ordered a vessel to be filled with dead carcasses, arms and wood ; he caused fire to be put to it, and the sails hoisted ; and thus on this floating pile, he went to perish in the middle of the sea.

The death of the usurper left the legitimate heir in undisturbed possession of the kingdom. Iorunder loved war : he turned his arms against Denmark, and sacked several districts of Jutland. But a Norwegian, named Gallanger, overtook him with a formidable fleet, in order to avenge the death of his brother, whom Iorunder had worsted, and ordered to be hanged. Seconded by all the inhabitants

bitants of the coasts, which the Swedish prince had depredated, he attacked him with superior forces, defeated his fleet entirely, made him prisoner, and condemned him to perish on the gallows, as he had done his brother.

Our chronicle here passes over in silence the reign of Ane, or Aune, who has been rendered so famed for his superstition, imbecility, and pusillanimous attachment to life. Haldan, king of Denmark, drove him from the dominion of Upsal; and this fugitive prince lived in the Western Gothia during fifteen years. After the death of the Danish prince he re-entered his dominion; but Ale, nephew of Haldan, constrained him again to retire into Western Gothia. A warrior, named Starkader, having killed Ale, the old king of Upsal, left his retirement; he was then turned of one hundred years, and his attachment for life had not yet been diminished. He interrogated Oden on the means of obtaining a long life; and he answered, that the king would live as long as he would sacrifice every tenth year one of his sons: it is said, that he immolated nine. He became so old and feeble, that they were obliged to feed him like a child. However, he still wished to live, and he was going to sacrifice his tenth son; but his subjects opposed it, and Aune died.

Eighil, his tenth son, succeeded him, anno J. C. 400. Although he loved peace, like his father, his reign was not undisturbed. One Tounné, who, from servant of the late king, had attained the employment of treasurer, had diverted a part
of

of the treasure at the death of the prince. When Eighil was upon the throne, Tounné had been reduced to his former condition ; and dissatisfied with this reverse of fortune, associated with some men of the same character, and turned a leader of robbers. The king was willing to repress his robberies ; but, either through contempt for such an enemy, or incapacity in war, he was surprised and put to flight. Tounné ravaged his states, and had the advantage in seven combats. He was worsted at the ninth. Eighil discomfited him with the succours he obtained from Frode Froekne, king of Zeland, and reigned afterwards in peace. Hunting was his favourite diversion, and proved the cause of his ruin ; he was killed by an ox, who having escaped the sacrifice, had retired to the forests.

His son Ottar succeeded him. Olaf Petri calls him Ottar, or Gothar, and says, that Siward was then reigning in Denmark. The latter, says he, had several daughters, whom their beauty had rendered famous. Ottar sent to ask one ; but the person he sent for the reception of the princess, was assassinated in Hallandia. The king of Upsal did not doubt but that it was by order of Siward ; he made sail with all his forces towards Denmark, twice overcame the Danish king, and stripped him of Scania and Hallandia.

The Iceland authors say, that Frode was still reigning in Denmark when Ottar mounted the throne. According to them, Frode sent to ask of the king of Upsal the subsidies his father was engaged

gaged to pay him, when he had required his assistance against Tounné. Ottar having answered, that he had never paid any tribute, and would not pay any; Frode came over to lay Sweden waste, and carried off with him considerable plunder. Ottar making reprisals, went to carry fire and sword into the Danish provinces; but having inconsiderately advanced, he was surrounded and slain with almost his whole army. The conquerors left his body to the wild beasts, and sent to Sweden a crow, whose name was then deemed an injurious appellation; adding, that the king Ottar had no more valour than that bird. This prince was afterwards surnamed Wendilkroka, a name which our chronicle ascribes to his father Eighil.

Adil, or Attil, son and successor of Ottar, distinguished himself in military achievements, in which he employed courage and strength, with an art and judgment uncommon at that time. He carried off from the coasts of Germany a young maid, called Urfa, who was tending her flocks. She was an extraordinary beauty. Adil conjecturing that she could not be born with so much beauty, in an obscure rank, did not hesitate to take her for his wife.

Helghe, king of Ledro, having made a descent on Sweden, compelled Adil to take a precipitate flight, and carried away the queen Urfa. The charms of his captive had the same power upon him as upon Adil, and snatched her from the throne
a second

a second time. This marriage discovered her origin: in one of his expeditions in Germany, Helghe had done violence to a princess named Alof, who became mother of the beauteous Urfa. Sensible of the affront she had received, and not able to bear the sight of a child, which constantly upbraided her with shame, she had sent her away among those who kept her flocks. When she heard that Helghe had married her, she acquainted him that he was her father. The prince heard it with sorrow, and sent her to king Adil, who received her with joy, although she had given a son to her second husband. This son became king of Denmark, under the name of Rolf Kraké.

To dispel his chagrin, Helghe recommenced his expeditions, but having been surprised and surrounded by Adil, he perished in the fight.

Urfa, disconsolate with the death of her father, never pardoned her husband, and secretly made use of all the means she could think the most efficacious, to reduce his military forces. Adil had about his person twelve warriors, who formed his principal security. The queen did not omit any artifices to prevail upon him to remove them; but the king, though devoted to Urfa, had the prudence not to disgrace persons who had merited his attention, because they did not please the queen. The little success she obtained, did not hinder her from pursuing her project, by sowing jealousies, and keeping up misunderstanding among the warriors of Adil, and another warrior, named Swipdagher, arrived a little

time before at the court of Sweden. She succeeded in destroying a part of them, arming them against one another, and removing the rest. In the same time she kept up a clandestine correspondence with her son Rolf Kraké. He made a journey to the court of Upsal, undoubtedly to consult with the queen; but a fatal accident prevented the execution of their designs. Adil, in a solemn sacrifice, making the round of a temple, fell with his horse, and dashed his head against a stone.

Eisten, or Osten, son of Adil and of Aulruna, a Norwegian princess, of the family of Forniother, (Anno Domini 500) inherited the throne, but not the qualities of his father. The Danish and Norwegian pirates devastated Sweden without this lazy king taking a single step for the defence of his subjects. He paid the punishment ~~for~~ his cowardice. Olaf Petri says, that his friend burned him with his whole train, but that it is not known in what manner. Agreeable to the Iceland authors, a pirate named Seulve, surprized Eisten during night, set fire to the house, burnt him and all his people, and compelled the Swedes to take *him* for their king.

Seulve was of Niardeu, in Norway, and descended in a strait line from Garder, son of Noré. He had subdued Jutland, and bore the surname of Juthe. Whilst he reigned in Sweden, he made an expedition into Norway, to revenge the death of his nephew, whom Asmund, father-in-law of Half, had caused to be assassinated. At his return, the Swedes punished

punished him for his usurpation, dethroned him, and took away his life. It was about the same time that Rolf Kraké was assassinated with all his warriors, by the king Hiorward, his brother-in-law.

After the death of Seulve, Ingwar, or Inghemar, reigned without opposition. Then the Danish and Esthonian pirates infested all the coasts of Sweden: The new king concluded a peace with the former, the better to resist the others, and to remove the war from his country, he carried it into their's. He was killed in a fight near a place called Adal-full.

His son Anund, attending less to his own inclination than to the spirit of the times, which attached honour to revenge, passed into Esthonia with an army, defeated those who opposed him, ravaged their country, and returned to his kingdom rich with booty.

This first success did not induce him to attempt other expeditions. Guided by an enlightened understanding superior to his age, he formed the project of enriching his nation by other systems than that of war. The forests were levelled, the land cultivated, the deserts inhabited, the ways between the provinces opened, a nation of soldiers turned cultivators, and he saw a plenty reign in his country unknown before. Those happy establishments procured him the name of Braüt Anund, or Brant Anund, that is, the Constructor of the Ways, or the Burner of Forests. The national preju-

dices which always resist the most salutary institutions, were confounded by the wisdom, prudence, mildness, and affability of this great king. An unfortunate accident terminated his pacific and glorious reign: on a journey he undertook to visit his kingdom, and to see with his own eyes the happy effects of his wisdom, a snow-drift rolling from the mountains, buried him with a part of his attendants.

The rhymed Swedish Chronicle that we are giving an account of, and the historians that have adopted it, ascribe the death of Anund to his brother Sigward, "who, jealous of his glory, and of his power, killed him," say they, "in Nericia, near Heuga Hed." But there exists no proof of this event strong enough to be admitted in history.

This Anund and Sigward have perhaps been of the number of those petty kings so often ridiculously introduced in the history of the kings of Upsal. Such are Freu (Frøð), Herold, and Bieurn, whom the Danish Chronicles, and after them, Eric Olai, Olaf Petri, and Puffendorf, place after Braut Anund.

This prince left the kingdom in a flourishing state (Anno Domini 600) to his son Inghiald, named Ingheller by Olaf Petri. His education had been entrusted to Swibdagher, petty king of Tiundaland; and Sturleson relates, that he, remarking in his pupil some want of courage, made him eat the heart of a wolf. It might be that a Swede of that time was so superstitious; but it is also

also possible that it might be the fiction of a bard, forged after the cruelties this prince was guilty of. When he ascended the throne, several petty princes governed particular districts, and though inferior to the king of Upsal, his authority was circumscribed by them. Inghiald ordered a great feast to be prepared for his inauguration, and invited the principal of those petty kings, with all their sons. Towards the end of the repast, when he saw them overcome with drunkenness, he left the banquetting room, surrounded it with soldiers, and ordered it to be set on fire. Those who attempted to escape were assassinated, the rest perished in the flames. Inghiald went without loss of time to take possession of their kingdoms, and thus made himself master of all Sweden, except Sudermania, where Granmar was king, and Ostrogothia, where Heugné reigned.

These two princes contracted an alliance with the pirate Hiorward Oulfin, and made war on the tyrant. The troops he had levied in his new possessions, abandoned him during the combat. He received several wounds, and was put to flight; but the war was not ended by this defeat; hostilities continued without any decisive advantage on either side, and both parties determining to make peace, swore to preserve it during their whole lives. Granmar and Hiorward relying on the faith of oaths, took no precautions for their respective safety. But the cruel Inghiald watched the rest of his prey; he marched secretly to the place of their residence,

furrounded it during the night, set fire to it in every quarter, burned them, and took immediate possession of Sudermania.

Twelve kings had perished by the perfidiousness of Inghiald ; all Sweden, except Ostrogothia, obeyed him. Heuegne alone had escaped the ambition of this monster ; while he was increasing his power by crimes, Afa, a worthy daughter of such a father, sowed discord between her husband Goudrauder, king of Scania, and his brother Haldan, prince of the royal house of Denmark. Goudrauder, instigated by this fury, killed his brother, and was assassinated by order of his wife : but with a cruelty and perfidiousness equal to her father, she had not the same foresight. Inghiald was sure always to destroy the sons with the father. Haldan perished under the hand of his sister-in-law ; but Iwar, son of Haldan, breathed vengeance : he returned from an expedition, and Afa hardly found time to take refuge with her father.

Iwar set sail, landed in Sweden, marched strait to the place where Inghiald was, and this king, detested, received no advice of the enemy's arrival ; he knew it only by the sight of his army. He had no time to assemble his troops, and if he had, he could put no reliance in them. It only remained to fly, but where could he find an asylum ? He took another way to secure himself from the vengeance of Iwar ; he ordered a great feast, sat himself at table with his daughter and the principal men of his court ; and towards the end of the repast, when
all

all the guests were drunk, the house was set on fire by his order.

Thus perished Inghiald the Cruel, as he had caused several other kings to perish. "He was," says Olaf Petri, "a lion in time of peace, and a lamb in war. The only service he rendered his nation was that of assembling in a single code the ancient laws of Upland. Wigher Spa, or the Learned, was charged with composing this collection, which served for a standing rule in the tribunals, and for a basis to the posterior code compiled in 1296."

Inghiald left a minor son, named Olaf, whose education his mother had entrusted with Boyl, lord of Westrogotha. The young Olaf hearing of his father's death, assembled some troops, and marched as far as Nericia; but either for his youth and incapacity for the administration of the kingdom, or because the aversion of the people to his father extended even to him, he was constrained to retire into the deserts of Vermeland. He cultivated a part of it, formed a kind of little kingdom about him, and never attempted to recover the throne of Upsal, at the price of the blood of his subjects; an admirable conduct, especially in a time when this wisdom and humanity was stigmatized with weakness! They gave him, out of contempt, the surname of Trætília, that is, Cutter of Trees. His virtue was crowned by a long and peaceful life. The most part of the historians rank him among the kings of Upsal; but neither he, or any of his descendants ever re-ascended the throne. Iwar

took possession of it without opposition, and became the head of a new family.

I W A R I A N R A C E.

Olaf Petri^d seems to doubt whether Iwar ever reigned in Sweden. Some other historians, and among them M. Holberg, author of a History of Denmark, have denied, as I may say, his existence, asserting, that his name was not to be found either in the Swedish or the Danish chronicles. They are mistaken; the little rhymed chronicle makes mention of him, as also the Catalogue of the Kings of Sweden, published by Benzelius.—*Monument, Histor. Vet. P. 68.*

According to the Iceland annals, this ambitious prince conquered Esthonia, Courland, and a part of Germany and England. His continual expeditions were the reason that he was surnamed Widfadne, Widfarne, or Widfarin; that is, who takes distant courses. Artifice and crimes rendered him master of Zeland. Helke and Reurik reigned there, Iwar gave his daughter Auda to Reurik in marriage; he then accused her of a criminal commerce with his brother-in-law Helghe, engaged this too credulous prince to kill his brother, and caused him to be assassinated, under pretence of avenging the death of his son-in-law. Auda, frightened, flew to Russia with her son Herald Hildetan, whom she had by Reurik. Iwar pursued her; but irritated against his ancient go-
vernor

vernor Horder, who reproached him for his crimes, he challenged him, went out with him, and was never heard of afterwards.

It was during his reign that Olaf Tretelia terminated his long and peaceable life. Olaf Petri classes him with the Swedish kings, and passes over the circumstances of his death. Eric, Olaf says, after having governed Sweden a long time and in peace, died at Upsal, and was interred with becoming honours. (*History of Sweden*, p. 20.) This recital is without truth, and filled with contradictions; he supposes that a politic, artful, cruel, and conquering prince has subdued Sweden, and has generously restored it to the lawful heir, or that the pacific Olaf has expelled the usurper, an event no chronicle nor any historian speaks of. He does not say at what time Olaf has regained the throne of Upsal. In the Iceland annals, on the contrary, all transactions are connected, spring naturally the one out of the other, and agree with the characters of individuals and general manners. A great number of Swedes detesting, and relinquishing Iwar, retired to Vermeland, to Olaf Tretelia. This defection seemed to have weakened his forces, and to augment those of the legitimate prince; but his small province, too circumscribed and unfertile, was not in a capacity of maintaining so many inhabitants: a famine was the consequence. The superstitious people, used to believe that ~~the~~ heaven, to avert heavy scourges, required great victims, assembled round the dwelling of Olaf, and burned him there,

in

in honour of Oden, to obtain from that god plentiful crops.

After the death of Iwar, his grandson Harald Hildetan governed the Western Gothia, Denmark, and a part of England, which Iwar had made himself master of. Our chronicle does not speak of this prince, any more than of the succeeding kings, 'till Eric Segerfel.

SIGOURIAN RACE.

The death of Harald, (A. D. 700.) having left Sigour master of Sweden and Denmark, placed on the throne a new family. Sigour established in his states, tributary kings, and *jarles*, or governors. After some expeditions into Germany and Finland, he died and left Denmark to his son Ragnar Lodbrock. Eisten Beli, son of Harald, was tributary king of Upsal; he became sovereign, and lived always with Ragnar in the greatest concord. The Iceland annals characterise him as the rich, powerful, and learned king. His courage awed his enemies, he did not attack the possessions of others; he was a lover of poetry, and maintained at his court a great number of scalds. Iwar Bieurn, (Biörn) and Hwitfoerk, son of Ragnar, having attempted to ravage the coasts of Sweden, to avenge the death of his brothers Eric and Agnar, who perished in a similar expedition, Eisten marched against them and was killed in the combat.

Ragnar succeeded him in default of male heirs. His whole life was a series of military expeditions; he

he conquered a part of Norway, and then passed to Scotland; but after he had landed, a storm destroyed his vessels; the Scots massacred his troops, and he perished with them.

His sons divided among themselves his states. Bieurn Jœrnsfider, or Ironside, had Sweden and the two Gothias. Eric his son succeeded him, and left the throne a short time after to Refil his brother. His son Eric reigned afterwards, and after him, his two sons, Emund and Bieurn Po Hoga (Biörn På Håga). It is to his reign that the first preachings of the gospel in Sweden, by St. Ansgarius, (Anno Domini 832) are related to happen. Olaf Petri coincides in this point with the first writers of the north; but he is mistaken, when he says that Thora, mother of Bieurn, was daughter of a king of Sweden. Her father, named Heraud, governed Eastern Gothia, with the title of *jarle*, or tributary king: he was descended of Oden, and had rendered himself famous by his piracies.

Our chronicle is also mistaken in the date of the arrival of St. Ansgarius, which he places in the year 845 of the Christian æra. Ansgarius went at first to Denmark, and preached the Christian faith during two years. He was recalled and sent to Sweden by Louis-le-Debonnaire, from whom Bieurn had solicited some ecclesiastics to instruct his subjects. He exercised his ministry with some success during eighteen months, and, when he returned, the emperor instituted him archbishop of Hamburgh; by a diploma which is still preserved,
and

and which is dated the ides of May, XXIst year of his reign, indiction XII. that is the 15th of May 834. We may then place the return of Ansgarius towards the end of the year 833; and reckoning still two years for his stay and travel, he will arrive in Sweden towards the end of 831, or at the beginning of 832.

Mr. Lagerbriug calls in question the authenticity of the diploma, the date of which we have just spoken of, and that of the confirmation of this diploma by the Pope Gregory IV. because Iceland discovered in 861, by Naddodr, a Norwegian pirate, and Greenland in 982, by an Iclander, Eric Raudé, are specified among those countries comprised in the mission of the archbishop of Hamburg. It would not be altogether improbable, that under the reign of Louis-le-Debonnaire, some knowledge might have been had of those countries by way of England or Ireland, and especially of Iceland since the first colony that settled there in 874, under the conduct of Ingolfr, found the inhabitants Christians, whom the Norwegians called *papas*, or papists, and who by books, staves, (or bishops crostiers) and bells, were known to be Irish. But it has not at first been called by the name of Iceland, that was given to it but by Floke, the Swede, who sought, and found it from the descriptions of another Swede, named Gardar, who had discovered it in 864. He named it *Gardarsholmour*, or *Isle of Gardar*. Naddodr, who discovered it in 861, gave it the name of *Snieuuland*, (Snioland) or *country of snow*.

It is then proved, that the names of Iceland and of Greenland cannot be so old as the years 834 and 835; nor do we find them either in the diploma of Louis-le-Debonnaire, or in the brief of Gregory IV. published by Phil. Cæsar and by Mabillon; we only see them in the manuscripts of Bremen, published by Speghel, and in German, Swedish, and Danish historians, who have followed this author. It is an interpolation of some German monks, who strove to include, in the mission of St. Ansgarius, all the countries discovered in the north since his preaching; but this pious fraud cannot invalidate either the authenticity of the diploma, or that of the brief that confirms it.

Ansgarius was a monk of Corbie, and not bishop of Bremen, as Olaf Petri says; he was not so for a long time after. Charged with the conversion of all the nations of the north, he sent to Sweden a relation of Ebbon, named Gaulbert, who, receiving the episcopacy, had taken the name of Sigmon. He was well received by the king and the people; but the foundations of every new religion are stained with blood. Some Swedes, attached to the ancient worship, killed Nitard, the nephew of Simon, and ignominiously drove away that prelate, as also all the priests who accompanied him.

Seven years after this disaster, (towards the year 855) Ansgarius sent to Sweden an hermit named Ardyard; he went himself afterwards, and obtained of Olaf, king of Bieurken (Biörkö), permission to build

build churches, to establish priests, to preach, and to baptize. But notwithstanding the presents he made to the principal men of the kingdom; notwithstanding his zeal, his cares, and those of his successors, the light of the gospel was not extended all over Sweden, and almost the whole people returned to idolatry, or persisted in it. Our chronicle agrees in this point, and makes no mention of the miracles related by other authors, and even by more recent historians.

About the year 845, and before the second journey of Ansgarius into Sweden, Norman pirates, that is, Norwegians; Danes, and Swedes; sacked Hamburgh and several other cities of Germany. Ansgarius, reduced to indigence, was received by Lauderic, bishop of Bremen, whom he succeeded in that bishopric.

Our chronicle always confounds the dates; and intruding particular or tributary kings among those of Upsal, or Sweden, he places after Bieurn, Ingwar, Olaf, Trætelia, his son Ingve, and Wæderhat: it was Eric, son of Edmund, and nephew of Bieurn, who succeeded him.

This ambitious prince turned his arms against the petty independent kings, who inhabited the north of Sweden, united Vermeland to the other possessions of the crown, subdued Finland, Esthonia, Courland, and was always in a state of warfare with Harald Horfagher, who had made himself master of Norway. The death of Eric Edmundson is the first event of which the history of Sweden transmits

transmits a date. He died ten years after Harald had subdued Norway; that is, in 883.

His son Bieurn succeeded him, maintained the kingdom in the state he had received it, reigned fifty years, and left the throne (in 933) to Eric and Olaf. The latter lived but a short time, and Eric reigned alone: it is with him that Olaf Petri resumes the line of the kings of Sweden. Repeated successful wars procured him the surname of Segerfel, that is, victorious. Olaf Petri has not mentioned, or rather has spoken with great incorrectness of some transactions that passed during, or soon after, the reign of Eric, and which deserve to be remarked; the one is, the first demarcation of the limits between Sweden and Denmark; the others are relative to queen Sigrid, and serve to make known the manners of those times. Sigrid was daughter of Skoglar Toste, a wealthy nobleman and famous pirate: her wit and beauty had rendered her celebrated. Eric took her in marriage, but the opposition in their characters obliged them to separate. Sigrid withdrew into Gothia, where she had extensive possessions.

After the death of her husband, several princes courted her. Harald Greunched, (Grönske) tributary king of Norway, went to ask her hand, and found her with a Russian prince, named Wisawaldour, who was come with the same intention; Sigrid received them with attention, and lodged them in an ancient house, separated from her's. When she thought that they and their attendance were
asleep,

asleep, she armed her people, and set fire to the house. The two princes were burnt with almost their whole retinue : those who escaped the flames, were massacred. To justify this action, she said, that she wanted to frighten petty kings from pretending to her bed ; and this pride was the cause of her being afterwards named *Horroda*, that is, the Proud. We should imagine, that this atrocious crime would have deterred all future pretenders ; but at that time the loss of life was little regarded, and a violent death was sought after as a happy and honourable end. The barbarity of Sigrid did not in the least stain her reputation. A short time after, Olaf Trugwason, king of Norway, asked her hand, and obtained it ; but he stipulated, that she should embrace Christianity : on her refusal, he struck her with his glove, swearing, that he would never live with a heathen bitch (*en hednisk bund.*) The haughty Sigrid withdrew, bursting with projects of vengeance, and espoused Swen Tioufscheg (Tuifskiäg,) king of Denmark.

Eric Segerfell died toward the year 990. This prince is in all likelihood the same as Eric Woederhat, put by Eric Olai and Olaf Petri in the number of the kings of Sweden. The rhyming Swedish chronicle makes mention of Eric Woederhat indeed, but it ascribes the success which Eric Segerfell had against the Danish king Swen Tioufscheg : these two surnames given to the same prince, may possibly have led the historians into mistake.

Olaf

Olaf Petri observes, that at this epocha the Swedes had five or six times subjugated Denmark; that Denmark had conquered Sweden five or six times; and that neither of them could have been able to shew what they had gained by it. "If one of them," says he, "has had some advantage over the other, he has paid double for it in dead and wounded. To spare our enemies, when there is a possibility of doing it, is always more useful than to expose ones friends: it is a detrimental commerce to purchase the death of an enemy by the death of a friend; and the grief and prejudice sustained in the loss of a friend, is often greater than the joy and profit we have from the death of three thousand enemies slain."

Olof Scheut Konung (Skiöt Konung) had succeeded to his father Segerfall. Olaf Petri places one Stenkil before him, whom several historians take for the brother of Olaf Scheut Konung; it is certain that this Stenkil did not reign; all we know is, that he embraced Christianity. Our chronicle makes mention, under his pretended reign, of facts posterior to that epocha, which we shall transfer to their place.

Before Olof Scheut Konung, they had in Sweden a specie of little value, stamped only on one side, chiefly designed for the payment of salaries. Each little canton had its place of commerce, called Keuping. The goods and merchandizes were exchanged, or paid in money, counted by *marc*, *eure*, *eurtoug* and *penning*. The marc was of sixteen lod,

or half-ounces; the eure was the eighth part of a lod; the eurtong the third part of a eure; and the penning the eighth part of the eurtong. Olof Sheut Konung employed English workmen, and coined money at Sigtoune: then, a marc of silver weight and a marc of silver specie, were of the same value. There were in the whole kingdom but three commercial towns, Bieurkeu, Sigtoune and Scara.

Anund Jacob having succeeded his father, he acted little in the wars which were carrying on between the kings of Denmark and Norway. His court was the asylum of all princes, who in the revolutions of those two kingdoms, lost their supreme power; he received and treated them in a manner suitable to their rank, without interfering in the re-acquisition of what fortune, and their own faults, had wrested from them. This wise politician inspired no fear in his neighbours; his reign was peaceable. He favoured the propagation of Christianity, but without any violence. Olaf Petri, and several other chronicles, have reported, that he has been surnamed Kolbrenna, or Coal-burner, because he had ordered to be burnt in part, or the whole of the house of him that did any damage to his neighbour, in proportion to the estimation of that damage. This law is so absurd, that we may doubt its existence. There was no written law as yet; it was then easy to misconstrue some degree of Anund, to explain a surname given for some unknown event, or perhaps to an unknown

known Anund, who might have been taken for the king of this name.

Olaf Petri says, that the king was then the book of the law, (*lagboken*) and that all that carried the appearance of justice to him, became the law. These exaggerated expressions are far from truth: the kings of Sweden have never enjoyed this unbounded authority: from time immemorial, the Swedes had their particular judges, who administered justice agreeable to the customs ratified by the people, and confirmed in the national assemblies. There existed at Upsal a superior tribunal, composed of twelve judges: Oden introduced, or perhaps preserved this form, and it has subsisted long after him. The king pronounced judgments without appeal; but it was in conformity with the customs, and the lagmen, or judges, the herfes, the jarles, pronounced also without appeal. The power and authority of the kings received increase from reign to reign; yet when they saw that a written law would prove useful, far from erecting themselves supreme legislators, they ordered the customs followed in different provinces to be digested into a general law, to which the people and the king gave sanction; that of the lagmen, joined to the consent of the people, was sufficient. (*Sturles*, tom. I. p. 478.)

Olaf Petri relates the formalities which were observed in a duel; he says, that when a cause could not be decided by the evidence of witnesses, it was to be settled by a combat between the two parties, and he who proved successful gained the

cause. It is likely that this custom prevailed in those epochas when there existed neither laws nor judges. The king Frode established this in Denmark as law ; but there is no proof of its ever having been legally enacted in Sweden ; however, individual combats have always been in use to avenge private injuries. Our chronicle relates the text of the ancient law concerning combats. We shall here translate it : “ When a man provokes another, “ saying to him, *Thou art not a man in the heart,* “ and that the other answers, *I am as well as thou,* “ they must both repair to a place, formed by “ three ways. If he who has given the challenge “ comes, and he who has received and accepted “ it comes not, the latter must be reputed what “ the other had called him, and incapacitated “ to take any oath, or bear any testimony for man “ or woman. But when he who has received the “ challenge appears at the rendezvous, and he “ who has given it does not appear, the other is “ to call him with a loud voice, *threefold coward,* “ and make a mark on the ground. Then the absent is reputed a man destitute of honour, who “ has said what he has not done. If they both “ come, they are to fight with their arms. If he “ who has received the challenge is killed, the “ other is obliged to pay half the fine fixed for “ the murder of a man. (See Extracts of the “ Laws of Sweden ;) but if the aggressor loses his “ life, his words have been vain, his tongue is the
“ homi-

“ homicide ; his antagonist is not kept to the
“ fine.”

Olaf afterwards speaks of the judgment of God, by the trial of red-hot irons. We find it ordered in the ancient laws for doubtful causes ; but it is probable the priests have introduced it into Sweden : we see no trace of it in the history of anterior times.

Anund died anno 1051. Emund, his elder brother, ascended the throne after him ; his reign was of short duration, and little is known of him. In an ancient genealogy of the kings of Sweden, we read, that he was compliant, but not to be depended on, when he had an object in view ; and that he was surnamed Slemmæ, that is, Slippery. Olaf Petri repeats what Adam of Bremen has said of this prince : he accuses him of want of sense and judgment ; but to prove this reproach to be grounded, he attributes to him transactions which did not happen under his reign. Of this kind is the demarcation of the limits, which separated Scania from Sweden, and annexed it to Denmark ; for which the sovereigns of those two kingdoms had made such frequent wars : this demarcation was made under Eric Segerfal, about a century before Emund. Such is also a defeat of the Swedes near Stonga-pelle-bro in Scania, by Knout, or Canute, king of Denmark. If it is true that this prince, who died in 1042, beat a Swedish army in this place, it could not have been commanded by king Emund, who did not reign until nine years afterwards.

The Stenkil we have just spoken of, is that which Olaf Petri puts in the succession of the kings after Eric Segerfal. He says, that then two *good men* were sent to Sweden, the one named Adelward, the other Stephen; and that when Adelward was celebrating the mass at Sigtoune, there was such a number of assistants, that the offerings were *sixty marts of silver clear*. It is true Stenkil mounted the throne, but it was not at the time when he protected Adelward. The latter preached for some time in Upland, and died there. Adam of Bremen ascribes to him great zeal, and many miracles; among others, that of having given to the barbarians, at his pleasure, rain and sunshine. However, St. Bryniolphe, (who died in 1317) the author of a rhyming chronicle of the bishops of Scara (*Er. Benz. Monum. Eccles. Sweogoth*,) doth not make his eulogium. "Harvad the elder came to Sweden; he spent his time as agreeably as he could; nothing can be said of what he has performed. Death came to terminate his days, and he died as many others had done before him." Olaf Petri says, that Adelward, abandoning himself to a sacred fury, broke the idols, and put to the flames the *helghe-lundar*, or sacred woods; that Stenkil having unsuccessfully warned him of the danger he was bringing on himself, the holy prelate was massacred, and the king shared the same fate, though he had renounced Christianity to preserve his life. He adds, that Stephen went to preach in Helsingland, and that it is thought he was killed there. Our chronicle

nicle confounds here the facts, times, and persons. The legends name two Adelwards; the elder we have just spoken of, and the younger, who came to Sweden after the death of Emund, under the reign of his successor. It is the younger who suffered himself to be hurried by an inconsiderate zeal, which the king blamed, but which did not cost him his life. He was whipped at Sigstoune, and expelled the town. It was also the same Adelward (and not the elder, as Olaf Petri says), who received at his mass sixty marks of money.

Emund having left no male issue, the people elected for king (anno domini 1053) Stenkil, son of jarle Ragwald and Astrid, daughter of Malfin of Halogaland. Ragwald was a grandchild of Skoglar Toste, father-in-law of Eric Segerfal. The maternal descent of Stenkil was not less illustrious: Nial, her maternal grandfather, descended in direct line from Harald Horfagher, by his daughter Ingheborg, whose sister Alos Arbot, was a relation of Rolf or Rollon, first duke of Normandy. Thus Stenkil was allied to the Sigurian family, sprung from the Inglingarian, a kindred to the kings of Russia and to that of Norway, Harald Hordrode (Hardrade). He mounted the throne about the year 1053, and gave his name to a new family.

STENKILIAN RACE.

Stenkil loved peace, and protected the Christian religion. During his reign Harald king of Nor-

way made some excursions into Sweden, with a view to take revenge of the jarle Hoka (Hakan), who had there taken refuge, and whom he accused with having let Swen Oulfson, the king of Denmark, escape in a combat. Olaf Petri is mistaken in saying, that Stenkil made war on a Danish prince, whose name is not known. He espoused the daughter of Anund Jacob, and had two sons by her, Inghe and Halstan. After a reign of thirteen years he died; in 1066.

The election of a new king occasioned a civil war, in which a great part of the nobility perished. Two Erics disputed the throne, and killed each other in a single combat, or perished in a battle (*Adam, Brem. I. IV. c. 13*). The two sons of Stenkil were afterwards elected, then deposed; and the people, with almost unanimous voice, placed Hoka Reude on the throne. This Hoka was born in the Western Gothia: he reigned thirteen years. The historians differ as to the place he is to occupy in the succession of the kings of Sweden. The little rhyming chronicle (which is annexed to the laws of Western Gothia), Eric Olai, Joannes Magnus, and Olaf Petri, place him before Stenkil; but the author of the Herwarar Saga, and Sturleson, who are more ancient than those I have just named, set him immediately after that king; and their sentiment is confirmed by the ancient scholiast of Adam of Bremen and of Landsetgatal. Hoka died about the year 1079. There was before this king a general persecution of the Christians; and

and without the interference of Eghino, bishop of Scania, Christianity would have been extinguished in Sweden.

After the death of Hokan, Inghe, or Inghe-mund, son of Stenkil, mounted the throne. He had embraced Christianity, and as the most part of the Swedes were still attached to the religion of their fathers, they wished to compel the king to sacrifice to the idols. Inghe, irritated, caused all the temples of Upsal to be set on fire, and ordered his subjects to receive baptism. The latter, in a general diet, gave him his option, either to follow the ancient worship, or to quit the throne. He persisted in his faith, and was driven out by the people with stones. His brother-in-law, named Swen, offered to sacrifice to the idols, if the nation was willing to accept him for their king. He was immediately elected, and Inghe constrained to withdraw into Western Gothia. But his vengeance was quick; he surprised Swen in his dwelling, set fire to it, and burnt it. He afterwards reigned over Sweden with his brother Halstan. The latter died very soon, and was bewailed by all the people, whose affection he had merited by his virtues. Misfortune had instructed Inghe; he distinguished himself by a constant wisdom, and by a great respect for the laws of his country (*Catal. Reg. Succ. Benzel. monum. eccles. p. 70*). He courageously repelled the hostilities of Magnus, king of Norway, but he never attacked any of his neighbours. Olaf Petri, and the other modern chroniclers say, that he

he had a war to sustain against the king of Denmark ; yet neither has Saxo, nor the ancient chronicle of Upsal, made any mention of it. Inghe died about the year 1112 : he had three wives ; the one named Meu (Mò), and sister of Swen ; the second Ragnilde, and the third Helena. It is not known whether the first brought him any children ; by the second he had Christina, who married the Russian prince Harald, son of Jaroslaw, and of Inghered, daughter of Olaf Scheut Konung (*Henr. Ernst. vet. Chronic. Eccles. Laudun, c. 6*). He had by the third, a son, named Ragwald, and two daughters, viz. Marguerita, who was married to Magnus Barfot, of Norway, afterwards to Nils Swanson, king of Denmark ; and Catherine, who espoused Bieurn Haraldson Jærnsida, or Ironside. The history of Sweden making mention only of the birth of Ragwald ; it seems likely that he died before his father.

The successors of Inghe were Philip and Inghe II. son of Halstan. The former was an equitable prince ; he reigned only six years, and died in the year 1118. Inghe II. was a friend to peace, perhaps out of indolence. Under his reign the inhabitants of Iempteland submitted themselves spontaneously to Eisten, king of Norway, an affable and generous prince. His brother Sigourd, who succeeded him, ravaged the province of Smoland, and Inghe did not take one step for its defence. Olaf Petri says, that this prince espoused Ragnilde, who
was

was afterwards beatified. This is an error: the epitaph of St. Ragnilde, related by Benzel in his notes on Wastow, imports, that she married king Inghe, who was expelled his kingdom: this circumstance can only be applied to Inghe I.

Inghe II. died at Wreta about the year 1130. He was suspected to have been poisoned, and several modern historians have ascribed this crime to Magnus, prince of Denmark, grandson of Inghe I. because, seeing say they, the king of Sweden without male issue, he had pretensions to the crown. But the ancient historians have not imputed this crime to prince Magnus, though they have aspersed him with many others; and this poisoning may even be made a question, because, in those illiterate times, it was easy to mistake the signs of poison; this kind of crime was, it may be said, unknown in Sweden, and there are no precedents of it to be found in the history of that kingdom.

The nearest relations to Inghe were the princes of Denmark. The inhabitants of the Western Gothia, devoted to the house of Stenkil, elected for their king Magnus Nilson, grandson of Inghe I. by his daughter Margarita, surnamed *Fridkoulla*. The Uplanders, to whom the first suffrage belonged, according to the law, had no regard for this election, and nominated Ragwald Kanapheuvdé (Knaphòzde). The latter, fiery and enterprising, had no doubt but his presence would overawe the partizans of the prince of Denmark; he went to Westrogothia

Westrogothia and was killed. Olaf Petri says that he has been censured with violating the law of the country, in making the tour of the kingdom prescribed to the new king, without taking hostages in each district; however this is but a conjecture of the modern chronicles. We read, in an ancient catalogue of the kings of Sweden, that Ragwald presented himself to the people then assembled at Carleby, without having given the previous notice of it, as it was prescribed by the law, and that the Westrogoths, incensed at this kind of contempt, killed him. (*Eric. Benz. mon. eccles. p. 70.*)

After a short interregnum, the inhabitants of the Eastern Gothia elected for king Swarker Kolson. It was towards the year 1134, in which the battle of Fotewick was fought, where prince Magnus lost his life.

Swarker was a pacific prince, he did not even take up arms to protect his country against Swen Ericson, king of Denmark; he left this care to the peasants, who themselves destroyed the enemy's army.

At the beginning of his reign he seduced Oulshild, wife of the Danish king, Nils Swenson, and espoused her whilst her husband was still alive. When death had bereft him of her, he espoused Richissa, widow of Magnus, son of Nils, and the priests were silent on these two illicit alliances, because he had allotted them donations and founded monasteries.

Swarker-

Swerker had by his first wife, prince Charles, who was afterwards king of Sweden: it is thought that the second was the mother of his other sons, John, Kol, Buriffes, and Sounosik, and that he had also the princess Sophia, who married Waldemar I. king of Denmark. After a reign of twenty years, he was assassinated by his master of the horse or chamberlain, towards the end of 1154, or at the beginning of 1155. Until the reign of this prince no monks had been seen in Sweden. He founded, in 1144, the monastery of Alwastra and several others, whither St. Bernard sent some religious of his order.

Eric Jedwardson succeeded him. Some relate, says Olaf Petri, that he was the grandson of a rich peasant; others that he was of the royal blood: be it as it may, adds the same author, Eric was noble, since he was virtuous. It appears, by the ancient chronicles, that this prince was elected some years before the death of Swerker. His first care, when he was king, was to visit his kingdom, to distribute justice to all his subjects, to settle disputes in a friendly way, to grant his protection to the feeble and unfortunate, and to set just limits to the power of the rich and noble. This wisdom acquired him the affection, gratitude, and veneration of his people. The only injustice he can be charged with, was committed by his excess of zeal for the propagation of the faith: with arms in hand, he undertook the conversion of the Finlanders. After having won a battle over them, he established priests in their country; he built churches, and left there
the

the bishop Hewcy, who a short time after, (anno domini 1160,) was assassinated: Eric experienced the same fate the ensuing year. He was attending mass at Ostra-aros when it was reported to him that prince Magnus Henrikson was advancing at the head of a small armed troop, with a resolution to take away his life. He would not quit the church before mass was celebrated; when it was over, he marched against his enemies, with the few persons who accompanied him; he attacked them, and was killed. Some authors have related, after popular rumours, or after their own conjectures, that Charles, son of the king Swerker, and Henry Swenson, were accomplices in the crime of Magnus, but Henry had been dead six-and-twenty years; he fell in the battle of Fotwig in 1134; and Charles, who had pretensions to the throne, who had even, according to some authors, been elected king by the Goths in 1152, would not have been instrumental to the ambition of a foreign prince.

Olaf Petri and most part of the modern historians have written that Eric espoused Christina, daughter of king Inghe, and of Ragnilde; but in the Icelandish annals it is reported, that it was Christina, grand daughter of the king Inghe Stenkilson, by his daughter Catherine, married to Bieurn Jærnfida.

Eric had by Christina, Knout or Canute, who reigned afterwards; Philip, Margarita, and Catherine. He was honoured as a saint in all the North; Pope Alexander IV. gave him that title in 1255, and

and in a bull of Clement IV. in 1266, it is mentioned that his feast was celebrated with much solemnity.

As soon as Magnus had committed this crime, his party proclaimed him king; but other suffrages were still requisite, and the people ~~were~~ sorrowful and offended, thought only of revenging the death of a prince they admired. Some inhabitants of Helsingland took up arms; their example was followed in other provinces: Charles, son of Swerker, joined ~~to~~ them, and Magnus, attacked at a little distance from Upsal, was killed with all his men.

Charles reigned peaceably. He obtained from Pope Alexander III. the erection of Upsal from a bishopric into an archbishopric, and a monk, named Stephen, first occupied this see. He went to visit the Pope, who was then in France, and was consecrated at Sens, in his presence, by Eskil, archbishop of Lunden, who had accompanied him. This new establishment was a great political mistake; it deprived the kings of Sweden of a portion of their authority, and that of the pope was increased. Alexander III. declared that the archbishop of Upsal should be submissive only to the pope; he prohibited all ecclesiastics from appearing before civil magistrates; exacted that all the faithful should pay a tenth of their goods to the clergy, alledging, that both the old and new law demanded it; that God deigned to accept this offering, not for him, but for the benefit of those who made it, because he rewarded them by an abundance of terrestrial

restrial and celestial goods, the want whereof was an effect of the anger of God against those, who not paying the tythes exact, defrauded himself in the person of his ministers.

Knout, son of Eric, had well-grounded pretensions to the throne of Sweden, and thought, perhaps, that king Charles had joined in the assassination of his father; he exerted some unavailing efforts to recover his rights, and retired to Norway, where he remained undiscovered during three years. It was in 1168, or according to other chronicles in 1167, that he left his retreat, came secretly to Sweden, overtook Charles near Wifingsfeu (Wifingsö), assassinated him, and took possession of the throne; but it was contested with him by three princes of the Swerkerian family. He overcame them, and reigned peaceably to his death, which happened in 1199: from this epocha to the year 1520, at which Olaf Petri ends his chronicle, this author observes the chronology with more exactness than he did in preceding times. He relates, with precision and fidelity, the transactions he speaks of; but as all modern historians relate them likewise, and more circumstantially, we refer our readers to them.

A N
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
C R I M I N A L P R O C E S S

AG A I N S T
R O B E R T O F A R T O I S,
C O U N T D E B E A U M O N T, P E E R O F F R A N C E.

Among the Manuscripts of Brienne.

From the Manuscripts in the King's Library, No. 178.

By M. DEL AVERDY.

F I R S T P A R T.

THE manuscripts of Brienne, which are in the king's library, contain eighteen volumes of criminal processes, carried on in France against different persons, from No. 178 to 195 inclusive. These are manuscripts of which we shall undertake to give an account of successively.

The first is that of the process against Robert of Artois. The volume is bound in red Turkey leather, with the arms of Brienne, and on the back is written, *Criminal suit against Robert of Artois*. It contains five hundred and sixty-one leaves, which makes eleven hundred and twenty-two pages.

The copy is of the last century ; but it is authentic, and we read on the first leaf, *marked by us, counsellor of the king in his court of parliament, commissary in this part, according to our procès-verbal of the 15th of January, 1652.* Below are the original signatures of M. Pithou and M. Petau.

Folio 3, presents the genealogy of Robert of Artois in the following succession: Louis VIII. king of France, is the stock of this branch of the royal family.

His son, was Robert of France, first of this name, count of Artois.

He had for son Robert II. count of Artois, killed at the battle of Courterai.

He had espoused Amicia of Courtenay, by whom he had a son and daughter.

Philip of Artois, his son, espoused Blanch of Brittany, by whom he had Robert of Artois ; but having died before Robert II. his father, the county of Artois, which was not a male-fief, was recovered by Mahaut, or Matilda, of Artois, married to Otho, count of Burgundy. She grounded her title on the right of representation, not being then admitted in Artois, even in a direct line ; which excluded Robert of Artois, her father having preceded his grandfather.

Joanna, daughter of Mahaut and Otho, and cousin to Robert of Artois, espoused Philip-le-Long, and was countess of Artois, by her mother's side, and countess of Burgundy, on her father's.

Joanna

Joanna of France, their daughter, was married to Eudes, duke of Burgundy; and it is between her and Robert of Artois that this suit was terminated.

As for Robert of Artois, he espoused Joanna of Valois, sister of Philip of Valois, who mounted the throne of France; he had the county-peerdom of Beaumont.

The discontent of Robert of Artois, count de Beaumont, at his not being able to procure the property of the county of Artois, proved the source of a great number of misfortunes and suits, which took place under Philip of Valois, and of the bloody wars with England, which desolated France.

The pretension of Robert of Artois, though defensible in common right, was however contrary to a custom, which it became necessary afterwards to abolish, and consequently it had not any real foundation. The representation in direct line not being adopted in Artois, and this county happening to fall in portion to females, Robert could have only a particular title, which would have been a derogation from the general law.

Instead of enjoying this particular title, the treaty of marriage of Philip, father of Robert, with Blanch of Brittany, confirmed by the letters of the king, of the year 1280, and related fol. 239 of the manuscript, argued against him; since that act, foreseeing the case that Philip might die before his father, in leaving an offspring *begotten and born in the said marriage*, only the property of a particular land,

and the goods coming from the stock of the mother of Philip was intailed on this offspring. So we find that the arrets and acts had assured to Mahaut, after the death of her father Robert II. the property of the county of Artois, and she had enjoyed the possession of it, as had also her issue, notwithstanding the claims of Robert. The acts in her favour were dated in the years 1309 and 1318: they are found copied at large in the manuscript, fol. 244 and 265.

It was then the efforts of Robert of Artois, and of Joanna of Valois his spouse, to reverse these judgments that have given room to the proceedings in question. We shall examine them, observing the customs of those times, and comparing them with those which are now actually followed in the kingdom.

But before we enter on these details, it behoves us to recollect how the historians have related this affair, which has been attended with such serious consequences. In general they report it in an uniform manner.

According to them, Robert of Artois, after the death of Lewis-le-Hutin, took advantage of an insurrection of the nobility of Artois against the countess, to try to reduce this county. Philip-le-Long, then regent of the kingdom, wished to put an end to those troubles, but he was not obeyed, and Robert made himself master of Arras and St. Omer.

Philip

Philip then marched against him at the head of an army. Robert was forced to consent, to abide the course of justice, and repair to Paris, where the property of the countess of Artois was once more confirmed to her.

Robert saw himself defeated in his hopes; but incessantly fostering an ardent desire to recover that county, he waited for favourable circumstances. He thought he had found them at the accession of Philip of Valois to the throne; being brother-in-law to this prince, he rendered him the greatest services, and contributed more than any other; by his vindication of the Salic law, to exclude the king of England, and to elevate Philip of Valois to the throne. He was cherished; he had the greatest influence on his mind, and his wife experienced, on the part of her husband, a tender friendship: with such great advantages, he thought he might do any thing. He wished to revive the affair, and to bring it to a decision; and did not doubt of success, if he could be admitted to bring the question to a new investigation.

To attain this point, say the historians, he caused a lady of the name of Divion, a native of Bethune, whom they describe as a person skilful in forging of writings, and whom some of them call a forcerefs, to counterfeit deeds; and among others, a treaty of marriage of Philip of Artois his father, strengthened with the seals of the peers of France, a confirmatory letter of this treaty, sealed with the king's great seal, as also a letter of Matilda's acquiescence, sealed

with her seal, which confirmed to Philip the county of Artois, his father reserving only an usufructuary right; and they add, that he brought evidences in support of these acts.

He then went to see the king, exposed to him the means by which, as it were miraculously, he had been brought to the discovery of those long forgotten titles, and obtained a revision of the suit. His opponent pretended, that his titles were false. The demoiselle Divion being brought to Paris, confessed it in the king's presence, saying, that she had made those titles; that she had applied the necessary seals; and that she had procured them by taking them off the acts to which they were attached. She was burnt, they say, as a forcerefs, and guilty of forgery, and Robert was for ever excluded from the county of Artois.

Equally enraged at the disappointment as ashamed of his crime, he at first took refuge in Brabant, and afterwards with the king of England; he never ceased intriguing against the king of France, and excited divisions which proved the source of a long and cruel war.

Philip incensed, with reason, at the conduct of his brother-in-law, published in 1336, a letter patent, which declared him an enemy to the state, guilty of high treason, and interdicted all his vassals from receiving him in the kingdom; *or any out of the kingdom*, (terms which explicitly glance at the king of England) to suffer him in their lands.

Robert

Robert of Artois, during a truce, took advantage of the troubles of Brittany to attack Philip of Valois, persuading the king of England to take the part of the countess of Montfort against Charles of Blois. He went with the countess of Montfort to lay siege to Vannes, and rendered himself master of it; but not long after was surprized there, dangerously wounded, obliged to take refuge at Hennebont, and to pass over to England, where he died in 1343, of the consequences of his wound, which had been exasperated by the fatigues of a sea voyage.

Such is nearly the manner in which matters are related by the historians. A close investigation of the different proceedings we now give the relation of, will throw light on several articles of this recital, and present some details, relative to interesting objects.

The titles by which Robert of Artois pretended to receive the fuit of the county of Artois, are related fol. 128 *et seq* in the manuscript.

The first is a confirmatory letter of Philip-le-Bel, of the treaty of marriage between Philip of Artois and Blanch of Brittany, by which Robert II. count of Artois, gives to his son, and his heirs, in favour of this alliance, the county of Artois; reserving however the enjoyment of it, and the liberty to dispose of some lands. The second is another act in which Robert count of Artois, after the death of his son, acknowledges the validity of this clause of the matrimonial contract, in presence of witnesses, who

sealed this act with their respective seals. The third is another act of the same prince, which announces, that his daughter Mahaut consented to this clause of the marriage contract of Philip her brother; and the fourth is a declaration of the countess Mahaut, who acknowledged, before her death, the truth of the facts ascertained in the three preceding acts. Robert did not then produce the false will of the bishop of Arras, which he had likewise caused to be drawn.

Armed with these titles, Robert of Artois, without weighing the difficulty he had to encounter to persuade his judges, that so important a clause in a matrimonial contract, transacted under the eyes of the king and the grandees of the kingdom, had been unknown or obliterated in the course of those proceedings, which the demand of the countess of Artois, his aunt, had given room for; without being intimidated by the reiterated sentences that had been pronounced in the intermediate time, nor considering the falsity of the acts on which he was grounding his hopes; thinking himself irresistible, he presented a petition to the king.

This petition, which will be repeated at large afterwards, is only mentioned in the letter of 1329, in an obscure manner as to the fact; they content themselves with making this prince say, that, *after several good, just, and loyal causes, newly come to his knowledge, which had been concealed from him to that time, he asks* “ permission to say, propose and prove, as he ought, the rights he has on the said county

not-

notwithstanding all arbitrations, arrets, sentences, ordinances, pronounciations, compositions, transactions, treaties, agreements, confirmations, or other things."

We here see the principle adopted, of cases where letters of civil petition may be obtained, or letters of revision against arrets and treaties may be taken; and that it was already the custom in the kingdom to recur in such cases to the authority of the sovereign.

Philip de Valois thought it incumbent to conduct himself in this demand with wisdom, circumspection, and a spirit of justice. He endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the truth, before he should grant or refuse what his brother-in-law was asking of him; and to verify the facts, issued at first letters.

By these letters of the 7th of June, 1329, he addressed a commission:

1. To M. Thibaut, of Navarre.
 2. To M. Adrian, of Florence.
 3. To Bouchard, of Montmorency.
 4. To Pierre de Roie.
 5. To Pierre de Cuignieres.
 6. To Jean de Chartelet.
 7. To Pierre of Villebrune, his counsellors. He says therein, that he was given to understand, that by a treaty of marriage of his cousin Philip of Artois, and of Blanch of Brittany, his wife, made by his cousin Robert, then count of Artois; it was agreed, that "the county of Artois, after the de-
- " cease

“ cease of the said duke, should fall to Philip,
“ and after him to his heirs of a legitimate marriage;
“ but if the said Philip should die before his father,
“ or after him, that there had been two sets of let-
“ ters made, confirmed by Philip le Bel, then king
“ of France, and sealed with green wax, and silk
“ strings, one of which remained with the said
“ count; the other was put in the archieve of the
“ king’s palace at Paris, and was entered in the
“ registers.”

That these letters have been purloined, since the decease of the said count, by his cousin Mahaut of Artois, or by others in her interest, or at her instigation; and the said registers have been defaced, in order to defraud and take away from his most-beloved brother Robert of Artois, count of Beaumont, son of the said Philip and Blanch, the said county, to whom it was belonging, according to the above agreement and treaty; and that in consequence of this deprivation, arrets had been given or pronounced in parliament in the time of his predecessors, formerly kings, by which the said county has been awarded to the said Mahaut, which would never have been issued, if the said letters had not been secreted.

This suggestion is notoriously the same which Robert of Artois made to the king. He charged the countess Mahaut with a criminal deprivation, as also all those who have acted by her orders, and solicited them to be brought to condign punishment.

In

In consequence of these facts, the king, desirous to know the truth, and to do his brother such justice as he might be entitled to, committed it to the above persons, and ordered them, that the said things, and all others that may respect them, or depend on them: "You all together, seven, or six, or four, or three of you, shall understand and inform yourselves of, by all ways and means by which truth may be known; and that you shall relate and send the report you may make under your seal." The king also gives full power to call and order before you, to arrest and hold, if necessary, the persons by which you may think that the truth of the said things may appear, and to put them in our guard and power.

At last the king empowers them to depute one or more persons, as they shall think most proper, to act in their stead.

It does not appear that those letters which gave such ample powers have been registered. The commissaries proceeded to their enquiries without loss of time. Thibaut of Navarre, archdeacon of Bourges; Adrian of Florence, treasurer of Rheims; Pierre de Cuignières, knight; and Pierre de Villebrunne, began their *procès verbal* at Amiens the 9th of June 1329, where they first caused to be inserted, word by word, the letters which constituted their powers.

In this *procès verbal*, it is said, that by virtue of those letters and commission, the said 9th of June, in the said city of Amiens, they have summoned the

the first witness present (it is said), and called to that, and all things above written: M. Giraut d'Abuzat, and M. Pierre Cesson, notaries of the the said lord our king, to put in writing the evidences of those they had to hear and examine.

These latter words contain an establishment of a secretary to the commission; and probably it was not the custom then, as it is now, to take their oaths for the particular affair they were charged with, when they are established griffiers, or secretaries, considering the original oath they had taken as notaries, or royal officers as sufficient.

These commissaries took two informations, the one after the other, in the course of the month of June. These are the observations that have been made as to their form.

1. The witnesses were obliged to take their oath on the holy gospel, "who in our presence swore upon the holy gospel, by him or her corporally touched, to say the truth on what should be asked him or her, of the things concerning our commission above written."

2. This form of oath is the same for all persons, as well ecclesiastical as secular; whereas now it is not the custom to take the oath on the gospel, but to raise the hand, and to promise God to speak truth; and that the ecclesiastics, instead of raising the hand, lay it on their breast.

3. There is no mention, either about the age, quality, or abode of the witnesses; neither if they are relations, allied, or servants to the concerned parties;

parties ; circumstances so reasonably required at this time, in order to appreciate, suspect, or admit the veracity of a witness.

4. The depositions were then made, not only by way of declaration, but also by way of interrogation on the part of the commissary, an abuse which has since been severely proscribed, seeing the evident danger it cannot fail creating in prejudice of truth, on a great many occasions.

5. If the information proves that the commissaries sought it honestly, it tells us at the same time, that they then took means which would not be admitted at this time, since (folio 48, verso,) they order the twelfth witness to appear, and read to him a part of the deposition of the second witness, to interrogate him anew on various facts ; and further, that the witnesses were permitted to return of themselves to add to their deposition (folio 40, verso). The witness who so returns, says, *that he had minded and recollected by his oath, that, &c.* which oath they do not cause him to renew according to the present custom, which consists in taking it at every time the judge is spoken to. This form of admitting a witness to return thus to his deposition, has probably been the origin of what is called the *recollement* (re-examination) in affairs of high criminality, when all the witnesses are recalled anew, to add, retrench, or correct in their depositions, what at first might have escaped them.

6. In the whole suit we find no trace of confronting witnesses, that is, of the act by which the witness

is

is brought face to face with the accused, to declare whether it is of him he has spoken in his deposition, and that the latter may answer to the deposed facts, and the other support or explain them.

The first information begun the 9th of June, 1329, and contains twenty-eight depositions; the second, which began on the 20th of the same month, includes thirty-one.

Philip of Valois and the commissaries could not suspect that a crowd of witnesses had been prepared to make false depositions, yet this has been the case. It is useless to enter on a detail of these different depositions; it suffices to present, in abridgment, what might have ensued from them, if their fallacy had not been detected afterwards.

It might have then been said, that those titles had been committed as a deposit to Thieroy, bishop of Arras, to conceal them; that the demoiselle of Bethune discovered them to be in his hands; and that the latter bound her to secrecy; that before his death he charged this lady, upon her conscience, to return them if he should recover of his illness; which was mortal; that she concealed them in a room, at a place she named to which the commissaries went, without finding any thing; that the countess Matilda made use of all imaginable means to get them in her possession, such as violences, threats, &c. that in all likelihood she succeeded, since it is by a fortunate chance that they have returned to the count of Beaumont.—Such is the idea of the fiction they had prepared,
and

and which was proved by the deposition of the witnesses.

When Philip of Valois had taken cognizance of these informations, he granted the demand of Robert of Artois, by letters of Thursday after Christmas, 1329; "Heard the said petition," it is said, (it is the same that has been mentioned before), "and made a dutiful information on the things contained in that petition; and thereupon, with our great council, with deliberation, we in council have granted to the said count (of Beaumont) to be heard on the things contained in the said supplication, to speak and propose in the best manner against the queen Joanna of Burgundy, daughter of Mahaut, formerly countess of Artois."

It is thus that the civil suit for the county of Artois was opened; but on the view of the titles then produced, they all exclaimed against their fallacy; it seems that every body was convinced of it; and in fact the report of the true contract of marriage, which we have before extracted, was alone sufficient to dispel all doubts. We shall soon give the account of the civil proceeding.

Justly irritated at such a surprize, and still more at the intrigues practised to bring together so many corrupted witnesses, Philip of Valois ordered the demoiselle Divion to be arrested, as also other suspected witnesses. An information of perjury was brought against them, but in a form which bears no resemblance to ours, as may be seen in the course of this account.

One

One of the witnesses to purchase his pardon, avowed the whole intrigue, and confessed all the forgeries that had been committed ; on which the demoiselle Divion was stopped and sent to Paris. She confessed the truth, that it was M. de Beaumont (Robert Artois) and Madame de Beaumont (Joanna de Valois), who had engaged her to make, and cause to be made those false acts ; that they had acquainted her with the names of the persons, whose seals were necessary to be procured ; that she had got them by means of money which they had supplied, by purchasing the letters to which the necessary seals were affixed ; and that after many experiments they had succeeded, in applying them to those false titles. She declared those she had written by their orders, she repeated those declarations several times, first, before the king, and a second time, August 4, 1331, before the provost of Paris. She added, that Madame de Beaumont had said, that M. de Beaumont would have her burnt, if she did not complete the work.

Lastly, she persisted in her declaration of the 6th of October, 1331, before she was tortured ; when, among other things, she said, that Monsi. and Madame de Beaumont would have put her to death very unjustly ; that she could not refuse M. de Beaumont any thing, he was so powerful ; that he threatened to drown her if she did not procure the letters ; and had assured her it was his right, that there was no sin in it, and that no one would die for it ; and said she would rather have died a thousand times, and lose all she had.

The

The other persons who had knowledge of these facts, or who had concurred in them, were examined, and depositions made in the same form as those mentioned above, or else by forms of confession and declaration, some made before the provost of Paris, others under signature, and sent sealed: all these appear every extraordinary forms in our days; and nothing was more clearly proved than the fallacy of the titles.

The demoiselle Divion was sentenced to be burnt alive, and was executed on the 6th of October, 1331. There is not one word in this first suit that has the remotest tendency to witchcraft, whatever the historians say. Thus the forgery committed on the seal of the king, on that of the Chatelet, and the three baillages, as also those of different persons, was punished by fire; and it will be seen, that the chambermaid of the demoiselle Divion, who had affixed to the false acts the seal of Philip-le-Bel, was condemned to the same punishment; divers punishments also were pronounced against the false witnesses by an arret, on review of the suit, of which we shall give an account in the sequel.

As to the false titles, and the two informations, pronounced and judged false, their doom was already fixed by an arret of the 23d of March, 1330, reported, fol. 265; which we shall soon speak of, in the relation of the civil suit. They were cancelled, and all the acts and proceedings have afterwards been deposited in the treasury of the Saint-Chapel at Paris. The copies of the false acts and false

informations, inserted in this manuscript, are also cancelled by a vertical stroke the length of the whole page, as it is announced in a kind of advertisement without title, in the front of the manuscript, where they are called *the false informations procured to be made by Robert of Artois*; which, by arret of parliament, have been declared false, and cancelled as such; and he adds, that on account of that, they were cancelled *à la pëne* (with the pen) in this manuscript, at the chapel of Paris.

The same advertisement has also, as it is called, the “ordonnance of this book, which contains the
 “just and loyal process made by the king in his
 “noble court duly attended, at the motion of his
 “attorney, and of the noble office of the said
 “court.”

Then comes an index of matters, which refers each article to a folio of the book, but they have neglected to number the pages.

The same advertisement says also, “that the
 “great loyalty and justice of the said suit may appear the more clearly, it behoves to shew the falsities procured by the said Robert, in his attempt
 “to obtain the county of Artois; and after that,
 “how the said falsities have been detected; and
 “lastly, how the king has done good and loyal justice, as a most equitable, most upright, and
 “most loyal prince, who has had in his eyes chiefly
 “God, justice and loyalty, to which he is bound
 “by the dignity he has and holds from God alone.”

All

All we have related takes up two hundred and sixty-four leaves of the manuscripts; after which the suit of Robert of Artois begins. But before I give an account of it, I thought proper here to report some details relative to the civil suit, concerning the property in the county of Artois.

We have seen that the cause had already been decided several times, in favour of the countess Matilda, and that Robert and his defenders had acquiesced; which had obliged him to recur to the king for obtaining permission to resume the suit, in defiance of those arrets and acquiescences.

Robert of Artois had in consequence summoned the countess of Artois to parliament: she made her appearance at the court, and these are the facts resulting from an arret of the 23d of March, 1339. They there recite the presentation of the false titles; the suspicion of forgery which the opponent of Robert of Artois objected against their validity, and against the seals that had been fixed on them; the examination that had been taken; the friendly exhortations the king had used to Robert his brother-in-law, not to persist any longer in the use of those acts; the representations he had made to him of the danger he would expose himself to, if he should persevere in using them; as also the objections resulting, as well from the intelligence which several prelates and barons had acquired several times of it, as by the avowal of the demoiselle Divion: that those titles were compromised, and that the seals

had been fraudulently put on them: these are all facts communicated by the king to his brother-in-law, who would never confess the truth, notwithstanding the most glaring proofs that appeared against him.

Robert of Artois, not submitting himself to so many efforts of the king, was summoned before parliament on a fixed day, that the court might be sufficiently attended with peers, whose presence was indispensable, considering that there were certain complaints of forgery against Robert of Artois, who was present. He had produced titles, suspected at least to be false, and on which they ought to determine. The attorney-general moved the forgeries respecting the seals, and how the acts had been made, as also the confession of the demoiselle Divion, and others; and concluded, that *the said Robert shall answer to the said letters, or no; and that he shall give a precise answer.*

“ The said Robert alledged several reasons, that
“ he might not be constrained to answer to that;
“ saying he trusted the said seals were good, and if
“ he had known them to be false, it was not his
“ intention to make any farther use of them; that
“ this was a sufficient apology; and that he was
“ not bound to do any more, and begged therefore
“ that he might be dealt with according to justice.
“ But our attorney proposing, that he should answer
“ precisely as it was fixed above, he requested that
“ justice might be done to him in this respect.”

So

So even at this time, in a civil suit, before a title was attacked as false, they obliged (as they do now) him who produced it to declare, whether he meant to make, or not to make, any use of it; which does not impede the public minister from prosecuting in chief both the authors and accomplices of the fraud, as it was observed then, and is still practised at the present time.

The parties being heard, and the court sufficiently attended by peers, in presence of the king, they ordered, that Robert should give a precise answer, whether he was willing to continue to make use of the said letters, or no; *which arret pronounced, it was required by our said attorney, that the said Robert should answer.* Then Robert having deliberated with his counsel, said, that he would not make use of them.

The attorney-general having concluded on this answer, the court being sufficiently attended with peers, declared, in presence of Robert of Artois, that the said letters were false, and as such should be cancelled and torn; and it is subjoined, “which arrets having been thus pronounced, the said letters were cancelled and torn as false, in the presence of the king and the count of Artois.”

At length, by a letter of Philip de Valois, presented in parliament the 18th of February, 1331, the letters which had authorized Robert of Artois to protest against the preceding arrets and treaties were *annulled, recalled, and annihilated*, at the request of the duke and duchess of Burgundy.—Thus, if the peers were convoked for this affair,

and if the arrets bear these words, *the court sufficiently attended with peers*, which implies the necessity of convoking them, it was on account of the crime of forgery; for in a civil and ordinary cause, concerning a freedom, it was then no more necessary than it is at present to assemble them.

The affair in question of the county of Artois, furnishes an undeniable and interesting proof of this.

An arret of the year 1317 announces, that Robert of Artois had then summoned the countess Matilda before parliament, to reclaim the county of Artois. The king repaired to parliament with his prelates, his barons, and his counsellors, without having convoked the peers of France. The countess Matilda attended the summons, to answer to the petition of Robert of Artois. He, previous to his plea, requested the king to command the assistance of the peers. *Cum*, said he, *ad cognoscendum & judicandum causas Paris Franciæ, curia parliamenti, debeat esse paribus Franciæ munita, requisivit quod nos, ad cognoscendum de dictâ causâ, & ad eam decidendam, curiam nostram haberemus paribus Franciæ sufficienter munitam.*

After this requisition, the demand and the summons of Robert of Artois were read; and then *per arrestum nostræ curiæ dictum fuit quod absque vocatione parium Franciæ, quantum at presens curia parliamenti sufficienter erat munita.* Thus it was judged that the convocation of the peers was not indispensable

possible for the present, considering the nature of this affair, which had as yet been merely viewed in a civil light.

It is true that it is added in this arret, as an indication of the fact, the king especially being present with his prelates, his barons and his counselors: *maxime nobis itidem assistentibus cum prælatis, baronibus & nostris consiliariis*, whence the author of a note in the manuscript, at the head of the arret, has injudiciously inferred, that the king may prosecute a peer of France, without the assistance of the other peers. This clause of the arret presents only a greater solemnity for the arret to interfere; a mark of respect for the king's presence. It by no means insinuates that his presence can supply the convocation of the peers of France, while the same arret acknowledges, on the contrary, the indispensable necessity of their meeting in causes, where by right they ought to assist.

Verum tamen, si dictus Robertus suam faciat petitionem contra comitissam prædictam, factû dictâ petitione, tam super eam quam super ea quæ a dictis partibus requirentur ac super ea, si sint aliqua quæ curiæ nostræ officio facienda fuerint, tam et maxime super paribus Franciæ in dictâ causâ, vel aliis quibuscunque, curia nostra faciat id quod rationabiliter fuerit faciendum.

After this sentence, Robert of Artois requested time to consult; but the countess Matilda urged, that having been summoned, and her adversary refusing to proceed, she might recede from the summons, *petivit licentiam recedendi*.

Then Robert of Artois, persisting in that system, which had been explicitly proscribed by the arret, answered, that he meant not to start his claims until the court of parliament would be attended with peers: *quousque curia parlamenti Parisiis, paribus Franciæ sufficienter esset munita.*

The countess Matilda insisted upon her being dismissed; and notwithstanding the absence of the peers, she prevailed by the arret that was rendered the same day: *per arrestum nostræ curiæ data fuit eidem comitissæ contra dictum Robertum licentia recedendi.*

We cannot find a question more solemnly decided; and it is a rule which remains still at this day.

The criminal process against Robert of Artois, for forgery, and against the authors of the forgery, the false witnesses, suborners and suborned, will be the subject of the rest of this account.

S E C O N D P A R T

Of the Account of the Process of Robert of Artois.

WHEN Robert of Artois had been forced to disclaim the record he produced for reclaiming the county of Artois, and when the same records had been adjudged false, and been annulled in his presence, before the king and the court of peers, the authors of the forgery were already known; and notwithstanding the civil and criminal

nal proceedings were complicated, almost confounded together, no doubt could subsist any longer on this subject. The demoiselle Divion and her chamber maid, principal and immediate authors of the fact, had confessed it; those who had co-operated in it, or who had any knowledge of it, declared it; and one among them, in the hope of obtaining his pardon, which he effectually gained, had unveiled the whole. In fine, the avowals, the depositions of the witnesses, the disavowal of the false witnesses, were in the process.

Philip would then have acted according to the common rules of justice, if he had committed Robert of Artois prisoner, and ordered his process. He had already unsuccessfully employed, before the sentence passed on his evidences, all the most engaging means to persuade Robert not to present, to a court of justice, the false records which were the basis and proof of his claim; in vain had he read lectures to him, of the declaration of the forgeries, the retraction of the false witnesses, and the deposition of witnesses; in vain had he attempted to dissuade him by the princes of his blood, by members of the great council, and by knights. Yet he still flattered himself, that after the sentence pronounced on those records, Robert would acknowledge his fault, and would come and solicit his pardon, which he earnestly desired to grant him, on account of his ancient attachment to his person, as well as because the countess of Beaumont, his sister, had participated in the crime. But the haughtiness

tinels of the criminal did not suffer him to stoop to this step; he continued unconcerned on his lands whilst the proceedings seemed suspended, and the other culprits remained in prison.

There were some ecclesiastics among those who were believed guilty. The king obtained from the pope some bulls, which directed the bishop of Paris to enquire and judge them. An act agreeable to the prejudice of the times, and to the little knowledge they then had of the right of the temporal power, and of the principles of our liberty, that is, of the ancient and primitive rules of the church.

There was one ecclesiastic particularly who was deeply concerned; he was named John Aubery, of the order of Friars preachers. He was able to give the greatest light on the fraud that had been committed, or at least to enable them to find out the principal author. Attached to the count de Beaumont, whom he always called his lord, *domino meo*, he had constantly performed the function of the holy ministry, and had acquired a reputation, by filling them with zeal and success; but they could not induce him to speak.

Robert of Artois, urged by the king to name the person who had sent him the false letter of the contract of marriage of Philip his father, sealed with the seal of Philip-le-Bel, the forgery of which was capital, declared that these letters had been put into his hands by the frere Aubery. The latter was arrested and committed to prison; he had been heard in the depositions, and he had already

ready informed the magistrates, that he had been sent by the count de Beaumont into Brittany, to find them in a convent of female religious, in a place which had been pointed out to him. This journey had been fruitless; the letters could not be found. Aubery repeated his researches, and with the same success as before: tired with thus loitering away his time in Brittany, he resumed his route to France. But having entered a town of the kingdom, he met a person who required of him the secret of confession, who took an oath of him, *super pectus*, and who gave him the letters he had been looking for: he delivered them to Robert of Artois; but thinking himself for ever obliged by his oath, and by the inviolable law of secrecy of the confession, he would not declare the person by whom these letters had been entrusted to him.

Aubery was carried before the bishop of Paris, to prepare his process according to the directions of the apostolical letters, and a proceeding the most extraordinary resulted.

We see appear before Hugh, bishop of Paris, qualified commissary-judge and executor, *judici commissario & executori*, Simon of Buffy, the same in all probability who was afterwards president of the parliament, and who first took this title. He is stiled in the whole proceedings the king's attorney, *Simon de Busiaco procurator serenissimi principis Philippi*, and it is under this name he makes his appearance before the bishop of Paris, Saturday after

ter St. Martin's in the summer, in the month of July 1331; *procuratorio nomine ejusdem regis.*

He presents to the bishop the forged and cancelled records, and requests him to proceed to take information, and pass justice on Aubery: *Et procuratorio nomine requiritur per dominum ejuscopum procedi Et inquiri summarie, Et de ipso justitiam fieri juxta traditam ab apostolica ecclesia sibi formam.*

The bishop of Paris assigned a day to Aubery for his defence. The king's attorney pretended that this was an useless formality, and that since he confessed having had those forged letters in his hands, and since he was obstinate in concealing the name of the person from whom he had them, it was incumbent to proceed, in consequence of his confession. Notwithstanding this remonstrance the bishop of Paris persisted in the assignation of the day he had given notice of to Aubery.

That day was the Monday after the feast of the Translation of St. Benedict. The king's attorney made his appearance; *procurator predictus regis*, on one part, *ex una parte*, it is said; and John Aubery on the other, *ex altera parte*.

The latter continued to persist in his former confession, and requested the assistance of a counsel and notary.

The bishop then said, he was persuaded that the attorney of the king and John Aubery would equally tell the truth, in swearing both on the holy gospels.

This

This kind of invitation to take an oath as a party of the process, opened the eyes of Simon de Buffy, on the singularity of the character he was going to fill. He protested against his being a party to the process, but that he acted in the king's name, and in the quality of his attorney, and that he was fulfilling for him the office of promotor: *protestavit quod non faciebat partem in hac causa, sed erat solummodo nomine procuratorio domini regis, et pro eo promoter in causa presenti*. Thus, without any authority from the bishop, who gave up the pretension he had just asserted, Simon de Buffy declared himself promoter for the king before the ecclesiastical judge, and fulfilled the functions during the whole course of the affair. It would not be difficult to distinguish here the first feature, if I may use the expression, the combined proceeding of the royal judge, who presents himself as chief of the officiality, and as ecclesiastical judge against accused clerks, of crimes in a case where the common and privileged crimes are found united.

Aubery agreed anew to all he had before declared, but he constantly refused revealing the name of him that had delivered him the letter sealed with Philippe-Bel's seal, maintaining that he heard of persons (whose names he mentioned) who hinted that those letters could be forged; and that it would be a mortal trespass, if he should reveal the confession.

The bishop appointed another day (the Saturday following) in order that Aubery might answer to the articles produced against him by the king's attorney

torney; for the bishop constantly gives him this appellation in the acts, and the attorney, in taking it, acts always under the name of promoter (*promotorio nomine*).

He made his appearance on the Saturday, and presented, always *promotorio nomine*, seventeen interrogatory articles. Aubery answered categorically, except as to what concerns the person that had given him the false letters, avoiding all things that might have any direct or indirect relation to him. The king's attorney proposed ninety-four articles of interrogatory, composed with the greatest art possible; so that the accused had need of the utmost circumspection not to let slip in his answers, some indication which might have enabled them successfully to discover the person whose name was searched for.

Aubery answered to the ten first interrogatories that day, and a part of the others on Tuesday following. He continued always immoveable as to the circumstances relative to the desired name; he agreed, however, that he had no power to confess, in the place in which the letter had been consigned to him, asserting that it was not necessary to the object in question. He also confessed that it was a man, and not a woman, that had given him the letter; but this latter avowal made him apprehend he might betray his secret if he continued any longer to open himself on such insidious questions. He took the resolution to give no farther answer, notwithstanding the injunction of the bishop of Paris; per-
sisting

sisting in all he had said, without the least addition ; and in apology for his refusal, represented that he had always enjoyed an unblemished reputation ; that he had been a long time priest and confessor ; that he was ready to answer to any interrogation, except on this point, on which the king's attorney, or even the bishop himself, could not compel him to an explanation ; and he requested to be dismissed from the king's attorney's impeachment.

The latter pretended, on the contrary, that the evasions of the accused, and his persevering refusal to answer, put it beyond doubt that it was through his hands the false letter came to the count de Beaumont ; and that so many presumptions arose against him, that his confession only was wanting to complete the proof ; and that according to the law and nature of the crime, he ought to be condemned and degraded, after having exacted of him the truth, *tortmentis et questionibus*, by the rack and torments ; a conclusion which evinces, either the point to which the ecclesiastical judges then carried their power, which at present they can pronounce only on points purely canonical, against which they proceed officially ; or that the king's attorney meant that this part of the information would be made by secular judges, an object on which he does not explain himself in the least ; but if this latter is the real sense, it confirms us the more in our ideas of the combined proceeding.

The bishop fixed another day, viz. the Wednesday after the feast of St. Magdalen ; undecided
himself

himself on the part he was to take, he assembled some canons of the church of Paris, headed by their dean, and attended by doctors in theology in the civil and canonic law, to consult with them. The *procès verbal* was presented: the bishop asked of them, whether, in the present state of the affair, Aubery was obliged to answer? They all gave their opinion, one after the other, that he could not forbear.

Aubery himself began to deliberate on the definitive part he was to take. Tuesday following the bishop communicated to him, in judgment, the advices taken of those he had called to counsel. A request of Aubery was read, by which he supplicated the prelate to summon and convoke expert theologians and others to state to them the fact, and see whether he might be permitted to name the person that had given him the letters, declaring, that if they should be of that opinion, he would, at the bishop's order, declare, according to their advice, him whose name was required.

The bishop of Paris, who had already assembled, the same day, the same persons he had formerly consulted, and an additional number of doctors and learned men, once more put the affair into deliberation. It was discussed for a long time in the presence of the king's attorney. They unanimously decided that there having been no sacramental confession, neither as to the form nor the subject, the secret of the confession could have no force, and that the oath most indiscretely taken by the accused, far

far from binding him, it would be a mortal sin, if he should refuse to answer upon his oath before the justice to the interrogation that was put to him; so that the bishop could not command his explanation under the punishments of the law.

Aubery was immediately sent for; he received notice of the issue of the deliberations, and the motives of the advice which had been taken by a general counsel. He proposed new evasions; he offered to declare to the king alone the name that was asked of him; which was rejected; to reveal it to the bishop of Paris alone; this was equally rejected. Then he asked a delay of two days to determine; on which the judge commanded him to give immediate answer. Finally, he desired, at least, that besides the persons consulted, who were present, the counsellors of the king, and the bishop's officers, might be called as witnesses of what he was going to declare; this was complied with.

Forced thus from his entrenchments, Aubery drew a declaration from his pocket, which he had written the 30th of July, 1331, and which he read with fear and trembling *cum timore & tremore*.

He at first confessed, that he had falsely answered to some of the articles of the interrogatory he had undergone, to palliate and hide the name of the person that had delivered him the letters sealed with the seal of Philip-le-Bel, and entreated the bishop of Paris graciously to absolve him for it. Next he declared, that on his return from Brittany

to France, he came into the town of Evreux ; that the count de Beaumont had just arrived ; and that to his great surprize, it was the count de Beaumont himself, who shewed him the letter of Philippe-Bel, for which he had made so long and unsuccessful a search ; and that he had declared to him, it had been brought by a person whose name he would not discover. Aubery read that letter with great pleasure, and gave his sincere thanks to the count.

He observed, however, that this writing seemed to him *very recent for a seal which was so ancient* ; and the count observed to him, that those letters had been properly preserved, and that they were so much the better for it. Then he returned this record to the count de Beaumont, to whom he had sworn before all, under the seal of confession, to keep the secret what he was going to entrust him with.

He finished, by saying, that at the middle of the ensuing Lent, M. de Beaumont declared to him, that the king was strongly urging him to bring the person to him, who had given him that letter, and has begged of him to agree that he might declare him to be the man, that this prince had protested its validity, and that in consequence he subscribed to all, not imagining them to be suspicious ; nay, that he has had a variety of reasons to believe them genuine and true : further, that if he had forborn hitherto to unveil the truth, it was out of the respect he entertained for the royal blood.

The

The affair does not appear to have been attended with any farther consequences with respect to Aubery, who is no more spoken of in the rest of the manuscript.

A confession so difficult to obtain, and which has given room to so many unprecedented forms to extort it, and of which we do not presume there exists any second cause; a judiciary confession so precise and authentic, so public and shameful, set limits to the indulgence of Philip de Valois. He resolved at length to order a prosecution and sentence on the count de Beaumont, the authors of the forgery, and the false witnesses; he no longer listened but to the voice of justice; his past kindnesses were succeeded by an equitable indignation, which never suffered any abatement afterwards: but the countess de Beaumont, his sister, although overcome by the confessions of Divion, and the other accomplices and witnesses, was not included in the fate of her consort. A participation of the confusion and unhappiness of her husband was her sole punishment, together with the publicity and notoriety of her crime.

It may be observed here, that according to the actual order of proceedings, there should have been criminal process only, jointly moved against Robert of Artois, and against all his accomplices and false witnesses. But a different custom then subsisted; the process intended against Robert was brought into the court of peers. The demoiselle Divion was judged the first, before Robert, another of the for-

gers and false witnesses was sentenced, but a long time after Robert of Artois; and the court of peers was not present at their judgment, although the crime and the deed were the same.

We see by the examination of the proceedings directed against Robert, that it was then customary to adjourn the accused person to a fixed day, to make his appearance before the king and the court of peers assembled; and if he did not appear, that a default was imputed to him, and that the adjournments and defaults were repeated three, and sometimes four times. These adjournments were served either on the person itself of the peer, or at his house, and in the principal places and seats of justice in his possessions. His fortune was seized, if he did not appear, and publications of adjournment were issued. They were made at the palace, the court sitting at the marble table. The peers received every day information about the action, by letters of the king; but all these proceedings, whose length and multiplicity were only calculated to afford the accused the means of escaping the justice of the laws, are no longer in practice. We only see the distant origin of those which are now carried on against the contumacious.

At this present time, when an action is to be opened against a peer of France, the parliament chamber assembled, exposes to the king the subject of the process, and supplicates him to honour his court of peers with his presence, at an appointed day, or on such other as he might be pleased

pleased to fix. If the king himself thinks proper to order the process against a peer to be instituted, he enjoins his parliament, either by letters patent or verbally, to proceed: in both cases the peers are equally informed by a bill, which is carried to their dwellings, at Paris, by a secretary of the court, unless the king himself chooses to make known his desire to the parliament-court of peers, and he has before sent to desire the peers to attend to receive his commands, in order to proceed in the institution of the criminal process. The peers of France are every one informed, in the same manner, of the sealing of the criminal process.

With respect to the proceedings of contumacy, either against a peer, or any other accused person, (for they are the same in all cases) they consist in the making an enquiry for the contumacious; at the place of his residence, if he has any, or else by notices posted up at the door of the auditory, with intimation of the list of his seized fortune, and a new assignment for a fortnight. If the contumacious person does not make his appearance, he is once more assigned for the eighth day, by a public cry, under the sound of trumpet, at the public places, and also before his residence, if he has any. Then a single default is taken against him, which enjoins the re-examination of the witness, and that it shall have the same effect as if confronted; considering the absence of the accused, they determine the penalty of the default, by the

same arret which pronounces on the chief of the accusation.

We should read, with a reference to the forms actually subsisting, what we are going to relate of the proceedings which were directed against Robert of Artois.

They began by a first adjournment, to appear at the day and feast of St. Michael, of the year 1331; it was contained in a rescript of the king, addressed to Robert of Artois, count de Beaumont, in a direct and personal stile, as were also the other adjournments that followed it. The second letters of the king contained the injunction of proceeding to the adjournment: they were addressed to officers of justice, who performed on this occasion the function of king's serjeants, and who drew a *procès-verbal* of all their operations, and the stile of which was directly addressed to the king's person.

The letters of adjournment express the cause of the action entered against the count de Beaumont; viz. that he exhibited and produced in judgment against the duke of Burgundy and countess of Artois certain letters, found to be counterfeit and bad, (first head); that he himself had contributed to their forgery, and that he had knowingly and treacherously assisted in their fabrication, by his counsel, help, and encouragement, (second head of accusation.) The king's serjeants went to Conches, where the residence of the accused peer was. He was absent at the moment they arrived, and they published the first adjournment at the castle, in presence
of

of the witnesses they had brought with them, and several other knights, esquires and burghers. They left a copy behind, in presence of the countess de Beaumont, and in compliance with her orders, to the gentlemen they had found in the castle: they likewise published it in the town of Conches, in that of Beaumont-le-Roger, the chief place of the county of Beaumont, as well in the castle, as in the city, at the gaol of the prison, and in the court of pleas, or the auditory.

The day of St. Michael being arrived, the peers assembled; but Robert did not attend, nor any person in his room. They had been convoked that day by letters of the king, sealed, and addressed to each of them, with commission to the provost to present them to every peer, an usual practice at every adjournment.

The manuscript enumerates the names of all the peers of France who were convoked, viz. ecclesiastical, the bishops of Noyon, Laon, Chalons, Beavais, and Langres; secular peers, the king of Navarre as count of Evreux, the dukes of Normandy, Burgundy, Bourbon, Guyenne; the counts of Alençon, Flanders, and Estampes; a great number of other lords assisted at the meeting.

The attorney general concluded against the count de Beaumont for contumacy, that *he should be punished by us and by our court on life and fortune, according to the nature of his misdeed*, expressions which, at that time, implied capital punishment, and confiscation of fortune; or at least, that *he should re-*

ceive such civil punishment as we and our court shall think proper in justice to inflict on him; he requested default against the count, that another adjournment might be granted to him, and that the forfeiture for the contumacy should be determined. The court of peers declared Robert contumacious, and granted another adjournment at the attorney's request.

It was about the time of this arret, that the demoiselle Divion was sentenced; in all probability it was after this arret, having since been condemned to the flames for the forgery of the king's seal. She was executed the sixth of October following, 1331, persisting in her avowal, as it has already been hinted in the first part of this account; but the other forgerers and false witnesses were not persecuted at the same time.

The second adjournment was upon the fourteenth day after St. Andrew's, Dec, 13, 1331; the same forms were observed, if we except that the king's serjeants went also to Joy (where the countess of Beaumont was residing), and to Orbie, a place which had been neglected or forgotten the first time.

The count de Beaumont listened no more to this than to the former adjournment. The attorney general pronounced the first sentence of default against him. He said, according to the arret, that the count de Beaumont, in virtue of his first absenting, as well as the second, ought to be reputed contumacious; and he concluded, that *he should be looked upon as convicted, and guilty of the crimes and*
bad

bad deeds above-mentioned ; and that he should be condemned in life and property, according to the nature of them, and have his right of defence forfeited.

It is evident that the word *malefeces*, just employed, can mean here only *malefacta*, *misdeeds*, and that it has no relation to sorcery or witchcraft. Might not this expression, have given room to the mistake of those historians, who attempted to introduce forcerers and witches in the recital of this affair ?

The attorney general took, at the same time, secondary measures, and requested that in case the count might not be considered as convicted, or condemned by any of the said ways, a new adjournment should at least be granted to him. This was the part which the court took, and the third adjournment was fixed on the fortnight after the day of Candlemas, February 17, 1331; the year began then at Easter.

The third adjournment was attended with the same forms as the preceding; we shall only subjoin two observations on this subject:

The first, that the property of the count de Beaumont were put into the hands of the king and justice, by means of the first absenting pronounced against him, at the second setting upon his cause, and that the third adjournment was not only published at his dwelling, but also publicly announced in Paris. In fact, the 20th of December, 1331, *the serjeants of the king*, repaired to the great chamber of parliament, and there, *in presence of our lords in parliament*

parliament, and those *that were met to plead*, they made, read, and divulged the adjournment, declaring, that if there was any there for the count, they would charge them to remit him the adjournment; at the same time they went and did the same in the great hall of the palace, at the table of marble, in presence of the audience, and those that flew together to hear it.

The second of these formalities is that on which the greatest stress was laid. The serjeants, unable to get admittance to the countess de Beaumont, who would neither see nor hear them, posted themselves at the windows of the room contiguous to that she was in, and published the adjournment *so near and loud*, that madame the countess, and all those who were in her room, as also in other rooms and houses of the neighbourhood, could *hear and understand it*.

After this third adjournment, Robert of Artois gave a procuration to the messengers that came on his part, with other messengers of the duke of Brabant, to whom he had retired. Their powers were not to appear on Monday, the day appointed, but on Tuesday, one day after; and moreover, they had no commission for acting in judgment on the main of the pending cause, but only to apologize for his absence, and to propose the conditions under which he was willing to make his appearance.

This procuration was a letter sealed with his seal, and addressed to the king *by his humble, loyal, and devoted Robert of Artois, count de Beaumont*. They signified, that having the strongest confidence in
the

the two persons he had made choice of, he sent them to present themselves to the king, in order to expose for him and in his name, the motives of his absence, and why he could not, for certain just and urgent causes, personally appear before him in his court at the appointed day, *Tuesday fortnight after Candlemas*, and that he was ready to take his oath for the truth of the reasons of his absence, and that he would prove it in time and place.

The day was on Monday, and the procuration fixed in its room Tuesday. The agents of Robert presented themselves however on Monday at the court of peers, gave in their procuration, and the libel of excuses of the count de Beaumont, saying that they presented it previous to judgment. But the court refused to receive it, considering the indication of Tuesday instead of Monday. There was not even any mention made of it in the arret which was rendered on Monday; we find the proof only in the act I am going to speak of, and wherein we read to the following purport:

“ It was answered to them by the court of the
“ king of France, in his presence, the said court be-
“ ing sufficiently attended with peers and others,
“ that they refused hearing or receiving any thing
“ they might say, propose, or give in, considering
“ the tenor of their present commission brought be-
“ fore the said court, by which it appears that they
“ could not say, propose, or present any thing, on
“ the said Monday, which being the day assigned to
“ the said count, they should not have presented
them-

“ themselves on any other day than the said Monday, and for many other motives.”

Thus the commissioners of Robert could not find admittance, and the court of Peers, after having taken examination of their powers and excusatory libel, did not pronounce on the count's plea, respecting his non-observation of the appointed Monday, and his having instructed them with orders for Tuesday.

This action, which seems at first a subtilty, and a rigour of formality, carried to the last excess, might be susceptible of an interpretation by a reflexion on the nature of the excuses, of Robert of Artois. They glanced almost in every article at the king's person that tended to criminate him. Might not this have been his motive, to cover under the veil of irregularity of proceedings, the incompetency of the court, and the independence of the royal majesty? These latter words seem at least to imply it, *and for many other motives.*

This decree pronounced, the king's attorney moved, that contumacy should be pronounced against Robert, and that in vindication of his absence, which suspended the merited rigorous punishments on his person, he should be banished, and his property confiscated; a sentence which was attended with civil death. It was also additionally concluded, probably in respect to the plea alledged, and the answer that was to be made, that a new adjournment should be published. It was
assented,

assented to by the court of peers, and the king fixed upon the Wednesday before Palm-Sunday of the same year, 1331.

The court of peers had not taken judicial cognizance of the excuses of the count de Beaumont, but the king would not leave them unanswered. He was not bound to submit himself to the judgment of his own court, because he was personally attacked, and that they complained strongly against his conduct, even imputing to him a design of assassinating Robert. He resolved to exculpate himself, and he assembled his court the next day, *independent of the cause in agitation*. The deputies of Robert and the messengers of the duke of Brabant, were advertised to repair thither; and they attended. This act is too singular in itself not to be related with some detail. We see here the sovereign majesty answering the reproaches of a subject, confounding his allegations, and facilitating to him, all possible means of defending himself. This act is called in the process and in the manuscript, *the plea of Messire Robert of Artois, and the answers of the king thereto*.

An exposition is first made of what has happened at the sitting of the preceding day, and what had been pronounced by the king's court; whereupon the king protested, that he was not come to the said court with the view to hear in judgment the messengers of the count, but for that reason only, " that the said messengers (of the count and of the duke) may see and hear the good intentions and equity

“ equity of the king of France and his council,
“ and not with the design to proceed on this day,
“ in the judgment, upon what the said messengers
“ had given in on the said Monday ; but that the
“ king was willing, in person, and out of judgment,
“ and all proceeding of judgment, to say and propose what follows.”

Here each of the articles of the plea of the count were successively read, together with the king's answer to each of them, an example unheard of in this kind, the effect perhaps of the happy simplicity of mind and justice of those ancient times.

The first article of the count de Beaumont's plea consisted in saying, that Peter de Garancieres, John de Gaillon, and P. de Roys, knights, came to him on the king's part last Magdalen's day, and signified to him, that the *king was ill satisfied with him for the many things he had heard on his account.*

“ That he answered, if he pleased that he
“ should present himself, he was ready to excuse
“ and purge himself with respect to the king, and
“ any person that should have complaints against
“ him ; that the said knights coming before you and
“ relate that you did not wish my calling before you
“ unless in full council ; but he enjoined, that I
“ should repair before you the fifteenth day, or
“ middle of August, at St. Germain-en-Laye ; that
“ there you would be in your council, and deliberate,
“ whether I should be admitted before your
“ council, or no.”

The

The king made answer, that the said knights had intimated to him, *that if the king was ill satisfied with him*, it was not for any aversion to his person, but for the end of justice, *as it becomes a good prince*; for he expressly desired, that he should come before *him in council, and would know*, “whether the count
“ may be heard in his advances, or no. For in
“ such an affair he did not think eligible to
“ consult only his own judgment; but that he
“ would naturally deliberate in his great council,
“ and in presence of the peers and prelates, barons,
“ clerks, laics, and several other competent judges.”

In the second article of excuses, Robert said that having known the king had charged the said knights to arrest him, he was obliged to leave the kingdom; and that he could not present himself at the first summons, as no *safe conduct* would be granted to him. The king replied, that it was but just that the knights should arrest him, and that he did it by an impulse of justice, and for equitable and urgent causes, having violently suspected him for having made use of false letters in judgment before the king; which he had renounced, and openly declared in judgment, that he would forbear their farther use, and which were declared false; and that he had consented, assisted, and encouraged the forging of these letters with a design to deceive.

The king superadded, that he was obliged to order his arrest; that he had too long tarried, and ought to have done it the very same day the letters

ters had been condemned as false; that it was only the strong feelings he entertained for him that had suspended his order, and that he had not caused the said knights to lay hold of him. Farther, that, "if it was said to him, on the king's part, that he should come before him, it was at his own request; and that when a man is suspected of a crime, it was his duty to lay his cause before the king, and to deliver himself up to the power of his lord," to receive justice; and that if he departs, he cannot be excused for going out of the kingdom, and not appearing on the fixed day.

As to the safe conduct, the king replied, that he never was, nor is, nor ever will be backward to bestow those which are requisite and solicited; these have always been his offers and promises to those who have mentioned any thing about them; that he was ready to give him a safe conduct for the undisturbed security of his journey, on his coming to judgment; although it is a known thing that no good judge is bound to give safe conducts to those who are prosecuted for crimes, and that they may be stopped and arrested on their way, if circumstances should render it necessary: remarkable and important words these, as they relate to safe conducts in criminal affairs."

In the third article of these excuses, Robert pretended, that he could not in prudence be present at the second adjournment, in the apprehension he might be arrested or killed, as was the case with

Messire

Messire Hue of Caumont, knight, who confessed to creditable persons, that at the time of his banishment, he was searched for to be killed; which many others have attested, and is a known topic in the country.

The king made answer, that in consequence of the flagrant presumptions, suspicions, defamations, and other above-mentioned causes, and for his having deserted the kingdom and associated with other exiles and enemies of the kingdom of France, and his violation of the royal majesty; that he had ordered him to be seized, but that he never commanded to kill either him or any other person; and that what he had done was from a motive of justice.

The fourth excuse of Robert for his non-appearance to the third summons, rested on the same motives, and moreover, for that the count de Bar, who was a strong man, and so powerful both within the kingdom and without, had challenged him, without his having given him any provocation, and had also defied the whole country where he resides on his account, and that he could not depart from thence without evident peril to his person.

The king ordered him to be answered, that these reasons were not admissible; and that if he suspected the count de Bar, he should have made the king acquainted with it, in person, or by others; and which the king would have provided for.

In fine, the beginning and the conclusion of these pleas, implies no more, than that the king

would be pleased to grant a new adjournment, as it behoveth to be; that he may be assisted by a safe conduct, he and his attendants, to purge himself in a perfect manner, as it ought to be, of all that might be objected or proposed against him; begging excuse for his leaving the kingdom, and that his absence and contumacy against him might be dispensed with, and that he may have the count de Bar's parole, who was his vassal.

To this demand the king answered, that by all that appeared, the count de Beaumont had no just pleas to alledge for his absence, and not appearing to the summons; that the court had given him a reasonable adjournment, that of Wednesday before Easter, in the Louvre, at Paris and declared in the presence of the messengers, that the said Wednesday would be the final adjournment.

That, however, he granted him from that moment the safe conducts to appear to the summons, and hear sentence; and that he shall be dismissed unhurt, if the king and his court did not find him guilty by justice and reason, and by the wise and deliberate council of the king and his court; that he might bring with him such persons as he should choose, and that they are permitted free return, provided they are not banished people, or enemies to the country; and if he would signify a desire to the king of proper assistance, he would send him such, and so strong persons, as he may depend upon his being conducted in perfect safety.

Then

Then the king commanded and requested the count de Bar, who was present at the sitting, to give to him and his, and the whole country of Brabant, good and sincere testimonials; which the said count de Bar readily granted *in honour of the king, at his order and request.*

We see by this, that the king commanded the count de Bar as being his vassal, and requested him, in his character of an independent sovereign, out of the kingdom, and that the count in this double capacity, has obeyed the command first, and then granted the request of the king.

At last, the king declares, that he will send letters of the whole to the count de Beaumont, if he should wish any; that he would let him have those of the count de Bar, if he solicited for them; and if he should have some others in contemplation that he should signify it to the king, and that he would also provide them. Such was the conclusion of that act, dated the 18th of February, 1331.

Extraordinary as it may appear, still we perceive, on reflection, that it was requisite for ascertaining the legitimacy of the pending judgment; that it run in part on objects which could not be decided by the court of peers; as well for the exculpations, and the plea contained against the king, as for the objects which depended solely on his authority, and not on the judiciary power; and that, far from trenching on the royal majesty, it served, on the contrary, to evince the goodness, loyalty and justice of the king, as well for the past, as the present, and future, and

that it put into the hands of Robert all the means permitted by justice, to enable him to make good his defence. But what defence could an accused alledge who would never avow his crime, although overwhelmed already under the pressure of evidence, and recently corroborated by the persevering declaration of the demoiselle Divion, previous to her undergoing her last punishment, and by the confession of Frere Aubery the Dominican.

No wonder then if Robert, who had only sought means of procrastination, or of embarrassing the cause with intricacies, which might in time enable him to trump up his claims in spite of the judgment which condemned him. No wonder, I say, if he was little solicitous about a safe conduct, and if he continued in Brabant.

The fourth and last summons, which had been granted, was published in the same manner at Paris, Conches, Orbec, and at Beaumont-le-Roger; and at the appointed day, a first arret pronounced the absenting final; and by a second arret, directing the confiscation, it was said and pronounced, *in our presence the said Robert shall be banished from our kingdom, and all his property and rights whatsoever be confiscated and forfeited.*

Executory letters were dispatched the same day, sealed with the king's seal, addressed to the bailiffs of Rouen, Vermandois, Aix, Toulouse, and Carcassone, or to their lieutenants, and all others, royal justices.

They contained the arret published against Robert of Artois; they enjoin publication on assizes and

and markets, on the usual days and places, with orders, that if the banished should be found any where, to arrest him, *except sacred places*, (so these asylums were still respected) to bring him, or send him under safe guard to the Chatelet of Paris, to receive due justice. The judgment which had been pronounced against him for contumacy, was therefore not yet final, and the bare representation of the accused was not valid, as it is at present, in fixed prorogations, since Robert was to be brought to the Chatelet to receive sentence.

The same executory letters, prohibit all subjects of the king from receiving the banished person, from lending or giving him, in any manner, assistance or counsel, under pain of being punished in an exemplary manner.

These formalities are now obsolete with respect to the contumacious ; but sentences of death are executed in effigy, at the place of execution. With respect to other condemnations, they are inscribed on a board posted in the same manner, and the judgment is noticed at the place of residence of the contumacious culprit. If he should have none, a copy is fixed at the door of the auditory. This form of public execution expresses the term of the time, within which he is permitted to present himself, and notifies of course the same orders and the same prohibitions to the king's subjects, with respect to the condemned person, as are for the most part contained in the executory letters now speaking of.

They concluded by ordering all the property and rights, which Robert held and possessed, to be put into the king's hands.

The manuscript then enumerates the names of the judges who assisted at the last sealing of the process.

The remainder of the matters contained in this manuscript, will be the subject of the third and last part of this notice.

THIRD AND LAST PART.

IT remains that we should give an account of what concerns the other accused in the affair of Robert of Artois, of new events that took place concerning him, and lastly the king's letter, which declared him guilty of high treason.

Among those who had been accused for forgery, were Robert Tesson, who had been royal notary, and who became afterward curate of St. André des Arcs, at Paris, *curato St. Andreae de Arcubus Parisiis*. The bishop of Paris formed his process at the same time Robert of Artois was judged. It is related with all its circumstances in the manuscript.

He was accused for having lent his assistance to the forgery, and particularly, for having made an erasement and correction in one of the false acts, whilst the inquisition of these acts were making in
parlia-

parliament concerning their validity. He had been arrested, and confessed the whole before the provost of Paris, Thursday before St. Magdalen, 1331. He entreated, in the same time, the king's pardon, who had sent him to prison. Information was taken against him, at the request of the promoter of the bishop, *per procuratorum seu promotorium curiæ nostræ episcopalis ex officio nostro procedentem*, says Hugh bishop of Paris, and he made the prosecution in this name, *promotorio nomine*; so the king's attorney had no share in this second proceeding against an ecclesiastic, and it was the agent of the bishop who acted alone.

The bishop nominated for the carrying on of the process, two commissaries, which he had selected from the canons of the church of Paris, *a domino episcopo specialiter deputatis*, whilst he had presided himself at the process against the Dominican; but he reserved to himself the decisive judgment of the process, *decisionem vero & executionem dictæ causa penes nos retinemus*.

Thus the bishops had no officers at that time with titles; they nominated, by special commission, those they thought proper in each affair; they entrusted them with the decision, or kept it for themselves at their pleasure. It is easy to see the dangers of such a licence to the accused, and with how much reason the prelates have been obliged to keep their titled officers in their officialities, as also the lords justices in their temporal courts, without being allowed to assume to themselves the liberty

liberty of judging affairs, either civil or criminal, which formed part of their jurisdiction.

The promoter after the reading of the commission from the bishop, produced the titles, declared false by parliament, as also the confession of Robert Tesson, before the provost of Paris; proposed the articles of the interrogatory he was to answer, and pronounced against him privation of all benefice: *pœnam privationis omnium beneficiorum suorum incurrit, propter falsitatem ab eo fraudulenter commissam.* Tesson agreed to the truth of all the articles: he begged pardon again, pretending to have acted by no impulse of affection or animosity; nor by seduction, since, in fact, the count de Beaumont had himself made the correction almost in spite of him; neither by any prospect of hope, or fear of loss; but merely by ignorance and simplicity, *per simplicitatem & ignorantiam.*

The commissaries of the bishop of Paris ended their proceedings, by adjourning Tesson to appear before the bishop to hear his final judgment.

The motives of the bishop of Paris were,

1st. That Robert Tesson was a royal sworn notary: *attentis & consideratis quod dictus R. Tesson erat notarius domini regis & juratus.*

2. That he had known from the origin the whole plot of the forgery: *& quod a principio noverat negotium de quo agebatur.*

3. That he had made an erasure in the false act even pending the civil process: *& quod pendente causa*

causâ ceram domino rege, raturam fecit in dictâ literâ sigillatâ.

4. Lastly, the nature of so important an affair, where the county peerdom of Artois was at stake, the perils that might have accrued to the king and the nation, and the quality of the persons who were of the royal blood; *attentis etiam quod res magna erat de quâ agebatur, scilicet parie & comitatus Atrebatensis, in quo regi & regno poterant magna pericula imminere, tum quia personæ inter quas questio erat mota, sunt & erant de majoribus regni, & de genere regio.*

In consequence, the bishop declared that Tesson was a forgerer: *pronuntiavimus & definivimus ipsum Robertum Tesson esse falsarium & falsum commisisse,* which he did not do till after having consulted, *de peritorum consilio.*

And he condemns him,

1st. To the privation of all benefices to which he was intitled, with a suspicion, however, of the extent of his powers in this respect; *& privamus eum, quantum in nobis est, ut falsarium, in omnibus beneficiis quæ obtinet, & privatum nuntiamus.*

2. To do penance in prison as long as the bishop should think proper: *ipsum ad agendum penitentiam in clauso carcere detendi præcipimus per eundem nostram sententiam, quam diu nostræ placuerit voluntati;* a punishment which has not reached the present time, either in itself, neither in its arbitrary duration, but which has probably given room to that which condemns at present an ecclesiastical delin-

delinquent to pass either the rest of his life, or a time fixed by the sentence of the officiality, in a seminary.

3d. And lastly, the confiscation of all his moveable effects to the profit of the bishop; *bona ipsius mobilia nobis applicantes ac etiam confiscantes*; an abuse which subsists no longer, it being no more permitted to ecclesiastical tribunals, to pronounce temporal punishments or confiscation, and still less to the profit of the bishops: it is their province to pronounce only canonical punishments on the culprits.

This sentence was pronounced by the bishop of Paris, in presence of six bishops and two abbots, among whom there was that of St. Geneviève, two knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and several others; namely, Simon de Buffy, the king's attorney, expressly invited for this purpose: *Et Simon de Busiaco procuratore domini regis Franciæ, & pluribus aliis fide dignis testibus, ad præmissa vocatis speculariter & rogatis*. Simon de Buffy occupies a better place here than he did in the affair of Aubery, which has been related in the second part of this account.

Lastly, this sentence has apparently been delivered in the episcopal palace, the bishop being on his tribunal, instead as at present in the officialty, which as a free place designed for the execution of justice, can no longer be within the episcopal palace: *pronuntiata per reverendum patrem & dominum nostrum Hugonem, in aulâ suâ episcopali, suo tribunali sedente,*

dente, anno 1331, indictione decimâ quintâ mensis aprilis.

Besides the false records which Robert had fabricated, there existed still a fifth of the same kind; it was a will of Thierry, bishop of Arras, who bequeathed his whole fortune to Robert, in discharge of his conscience, and as a compensation for the wrong he had done him, having been the cause of his deprivation of the county of Artois. This act had no other aim, but falsely to imply, that this bishop had concealed, during his life, the rights of the count de Beaumont to the property of the county peerdom of Artois.

Robert had obtained letters in consequence from the king, to take possession of the fortune of Thierry. The countess of Artois, who had also claims to a part of that fortune, judicially attacked Robert, and a first arret had ordered an enquiry into the truth of the facts; but it may easily be conjectured that no great light could be thrown on the contest, the falsity of the principal titles being an incontrovertible proof of that of the will.

After having been compelled by the coincidence of so many circumstances, to order the prosecution and condemnation of his brother-in-law; Philip de Valois, threw off all farther reflection on so disagreeable an affair. The rest of the forgers and false witnesses continued in prison without receiving sentence, and Robert might have remained perfectly undisturbed in his retreat, if passion would have permitted him.

He

He withdrew, as it has been said, to the court of the duke of Brabant: he was very favourably received at first, but affairs soon took another turn. The duke of Brabant married his son to the daughter of Philip de Valois, and having on this occasion paid a visit to the court of France, he was soon informed of the reality of Robert's crime, and of the just indignation of a monarch, so much the more irritated against him, as he had before loaded him with kindness.

The duke of Brabant, on his return, did not think it eligible to expel Robert from an asylum he had first granted him; but resolving no longer to receive him at his court, he permitted him to continue in his dominions, as it were in concealment. This prince wandered from castle to castle, and from town to town, especially in the country of Liege, yet always preferring the castle and city of Namur, which he made his usual residence.

His restless imagination grew more and more inflamed, and soon new attempts on his part, or rather schemes to new crimes were laid, which filled the French court with terror, and brought on the judgment of the remaining accomplices; and lastly the circumstances which irrevocably determined Philip de Valois to issue the famous declaration against him. Such objects this remaining account treats of.

They did not in France lose sight of an exile of such importance. Loose reports were at first circulated of his criminal designs: attention was awakened;

awakened; a monk of the order of the Trinitarians, and a priest of Liege, either revealed more circumstantial facts, or were pointed out as capable of revealing them. Means were found to seize them; they were put in prison by the king's order, thence conveyed to the episcopal prison of Paris, and the bishop himself received their declarations and depositions, in presence of John bishop of Arras, other counsellors of the kings, and of notaries called for that purpose, the last of January, 1334, which, after the modern computation, would be 1335.

The two witnesses are stiled king's prisoners, for motives which concerned the royal majesty, *propter aliquam tangentiam regiam majestatem*.

They both take their oaths upon the holy gospels of their salvation, *in animam suam præstita*, that they were going to declare, without their being urged either by sollicitation, subordination, promises, love, hatred, fear, fraud, or by the effect of circumvention or deception, or by the compulsion of ill-treatment in prison, or terror; but merely from their own knowledge and spontaneous will, *sed ex certâ scientiâ & spontaneus*.

These questions often preceded the oath then exacted on depositions and judiciary confessions, of which they made part, as we may see in several other depositions transcribed in the manuscript. They are now expunged (for good reasons) from criminal proceedings. Witnesses that would depose
from

from the like motives, would deserve prosecution, as culpable ; nor would there result any thing but reproaches on the part of the accused in confuting them, if he has reason to presume that they have been guided by the like criminal motives. These two depositions are very prolix ; I have selected only the essential part of them, to render the recital as little tedious as may be.

Robert had particularly attached to his person, the Avowee of the town of Huy, and Bertholot his equerry, who had given to him Henry Sachebren, of the order of the Trinity, to serve him in the capacity of a chaplain, at least occasionally. Robert pitched upon him as an instrument to his impious designs ; but he was somewhat circumspect in confiding, and it seems he did not succeed in corrupting him.

Robert wanted at first to send him to France to expedite some of his affairs ; but Sachebren refused going, as he could easily be discovered by the religious of his own order.

About Saint John Baptist's day, in the summer, 1333, Robert being at Namur, strove to insinuate to him, that the queen of France had made use of witchcrafts *briefs écrits*, whose virtue was, that if Robert should put it on his head, *sur son chief*, he would sleep as long as he should have it upon him, and so profoundly *that he might be carried off wherever it might be most convenient*. He asked of him, whether there was any
such

such thing possible, and how a like forcery might be effected.

Sachebren answered him, that he believed nothing of it, and that it was without doubt a contrivance of some deceitful people, *de truffleurs*. Robert maintained that the fact was true, and that he wished to know how to counteract it. Bertholot, who was present at this conversation, pretended that one, named Henry Fouriau, of Namur, knew how to do it; and as Sachebren was acquainted with him, he was desired to converse with him on the subject. Fouriau wrote a bill with red and black ink, and brought it to Robert with the inkhorn, in which the rest of the ink he had made use of was contained. This first compliance on the part of Sachebren, matured the confidence which he was gradually prepared to be intrusted with.

The same day Robert of Artois charged Bertholot, in his presence, to find him out companions for his journey to France, saying, that he would bestow the greatest benefits, on any who should have the courage to put to death, those who injured him so insufferably before the king. Then Gilles Nelle offered himself to conduct them to France, and asked who those were Robert spoke of?

He answered, they were the duke of Burgundy, the chancellor, the count de Bar, and others. Gilles Nelle replied, that he had found some companions of Namur, who were going with him; that they were banished men, and read to assassinate for money.

Robert

Robert, in the first moment, used dissimulation, saying, *take brave people like yourself, and destroy those who hurt you, be it the king, or others.* The same time Messire Hue Desjardins, knight, who shared the fate of Robert, and who was present, supported this proposal, saying, *It would be the best way of any, and I take it to be more honourable to fall in the performance of a good action, than to live with shame.*

Then, (said Robert, grasping at what first he rejected) *it is no longer necessary to make open war with them; I must take the counsel suggested by Gilles de Nelle;* and a warm discussion ensued between Gilles and Hue Desjardins. Robert reflected at last, that he had often considered, “that he should look upon
“ himself as a mean man, should he so soon make
“ his peace with the king; especially at this time
“ when the queen was with child, and would certainly
“ in her acute pains and sufferings bitterly repent
“ the wrong she has done me, and be reconciled,
“ perhaps, when I shall have procured myself
“ peace, and thereby I shall insure it.”

Let us see now the manner in which Sachebren describes the state of Robert.

“ He is a man so fickle and inconstant, that
“ he will have his bed to-day in this place, to-
“ morrow in that, and another day in another;
“ sometimes in one single day in different places.
“ He will frequently stay by himself, the door of
“ his rooms fastened ^{upon} ~~behind~~ him, for half a day to-
“ gether.”

This

This picture of a man, agitated by remorse, fear, fury and vengeance, was interpreted in a manner still more invidious by those who had lived with Robert. They thought him to deal in forcery. In fact, one day Robert being in his room, where there was a cage of birds, and where he remained alone, speaking aloud to them, without his words being understood, and whilst dinner was upon the table; Sachebren observed to the chevalier Hue, how the prince could leave his meat to spoil, for the sake of speaking to birds? The chevalier touching him by the shoulder, said, *why, brother Henry, he does not speak to the birds, but to the devil.*

In the mean while the project of sending the murderers to France continued still in contemplation. Gilles de Nelle, with a man of the city of Meaux, and with two others whose names are not reported, departed the day of St. Peter, with the design of executing, at Paris, the said *maléfices*, or misdeeds; for there is no recourse to forceries as yet, they have only been announced.

They repaired to Cambray to engage some more companions. They entered France, and remained at Rheims, where the count de Bar was expected to assist at the celebration of a feast that was to be given to the ladies. He was not arrived when they entered this city; but they were not suffered to proceed farther. The avowee of Huy, who disapproved this enterprize, sent them word, in a letter, by Sachebren, that they should return; which they did.

The flattering prospect of success more elated the heart of Robert every day. He now on a sudden resolved, at the end of August of the same year 1333, to repair to France to see his wife, for whom, however, he did not profess any regard; but to have in reality an exact account of his estates. He desired the avowee of Huy to give him his company; but he, after having declined the offer, because of his being known by the king and the whole court of France, where he had been seen, on the occasion of negotiating the marriage of the son of the duke of Brabant, advised Robert to desist from this journey, the secret aim of which might also be criminal.

Robert, after having shewn some attention to his reasoning, returned however to his former resolution of executing his project, as soon as the avowee had left him; and he departed with Golinier, Gilles Nelle, and five or six well armed men; he was not absent above a fortnight.

This journey increased his hopes; and he said to the avowee of Huy, on his return, "Know that
" I am not destitute of friends at Paris; I am regretted by all classes of men; and if I could
" have put the king to death, and others who molest me, I should meet with a general approbation, and receive more assistance on the part of
" the Parisians, than the king himself: there are
" some hundred burghers that are ready to advance me each one thousand livres, at a moment's call."

The

The avowee replied, " You are in the wrong
 " to speak thus, and to believe that you could
 " not miscarry ;" and going to see Sachebren, who
 had not been present at this conversation, he re-
 ported it to him, and added, " Madame de Beau-
 " mont threatens him with many evils. She has
 " been the cause of his losing his honour in France,
 " and she will perhaps, some time or other, find
 " means to have his head cut off. Never believe
 " that he went to France with any good intent ;
 " for if he had seen her, he would have done much
 " mischief. When first he began to be embroiled
 " with the king, if he lost his affection, it was
 " through her insinuations."

From this epocha it seems, that Robert renounced
 his ideas of assassination, to find resources in magic
 and witchcraft, according to the superstitious pre-
 judices of those times ; and it is here the MS. be-
 gins to enter on that scene for the first time.

About the day of St. Remis, or All Saints, 1333,
 he said confidentially to Sachebren, that the queen
 of France had prepared an image of wax for and
 against him, to injure him and his adherents ; but
 that some friends of his had taken their mea-
 sures so aptly, that they obtained possession of the
 wax figure, and had sent it to him.

Sachebren seemed not disposed to credit what
 Robert said to him, who entered into a confidential
 discourse with him : he took an oath of him,
 under the seal of confession, by making him

lay his hand on his breast *ad pectus*, and disclosed to him the secret, after having thus ensured his fidelity.

He agreed at first that what he had said about the queen of France was totally untrue, but that it was himself who had contrived the figure of wax which he shewed to him. This figure was one foot and an half in length, and represented a young man with hair. He declared to him, that it was made against John of France, the king's son. Sachebren was going to extend his hand on it, but Robert cried: *don't touch him brother Henry, he is quite made and baptized; he has been sent to me from France completely made and baptized; he wants nothing more, and is against John of France, in his name, to distress him.*

He added, that he would have another figure of a woman not baptized, and Sachebren having asked of him for whom, Robert answered; "Against a
" she devil; it is against the queen; not queen I
" say; she is a she devil; as long as she lives no
" good may be expected; she will not cease tor-
" menting me, nor can I hope for peace as long as
" there is breath in her; if she and her son were
" once gone, I would soon make my peace with the
" king; for with him I can do what I please, take
" my word for it." He subjoined that that figure was not yet to be baptized; but that the godfather and godmother were ready, and that in time Sachebren should baptize him.

Sache-

Sachebren lost no time to explain to him that he could not do such things; to whom Robert said: *It is very easy to do it, you need but to observe the same forms as with a real child, and pronounce the names it is to have;* an answer which gives an exact notion of the form of that superstition.

Then Sachebren swore that he would never be guilty of such an action, *and that a man of his rank should not stoop to such things. You intend to act against the king and the queen, who are the only persons who can restore you to honour. I would rather,* replied Robert, *strangle the devil, than be strangled by him.*

Robert wished to engage him at least to find out a person who could assist him in his designs, promising to heap riches on him; but on his refusal he contented with recommending the deepest secrecy, which he promised him anew, and which he pretends to have kept; adding, that had it not been for the evils threatening so eminent a person, no syllable would ever have transpired from his lips; the more so, as a girl, named *Jannette*, who made journies to France under a man's disguise for Robert's affairs, had said to him one day, that a woman who had healed up a wound of the prince's, had communicated to her, that she served a bad master, as in opening a tub one day in his room to shut up the ointments she made use of, she discovered in it a large waxen image, and not unlike a woman; and that Robert flew in such a passion, that

he would have killed her if she had not precipitately run away.

To these facts were joined those which the priest of Liege attested. They have no direct dependance on those related by the details of Sachebren, but they were of the same purport as to the execution of the project, which was grounded upon sorcery, since a French knight proposed him to the country of Liege in 1332, his magic assistance, *by which the king of France would die soon, and be brought to an end*, and that the following Lent, the avowee of Huy and his equerry having brought him to Namur, wanted him anew to engage, notwithstanding his former repugnance, and upbraided him with his inflexibility in refusing his hand to such services; his name was *John Aimeri*.

Such incoherent depositions in many points, which evinced a criminal design, supported by means as atrocious as impotent, would excite at this time only the researches and severity of justice, without intimidating any person; but the contrary happened then; the proceedings already entered into in this respect were interrupted, and the royal justice neglected taking cognizance; terror alone took possession of the mind.

Measures little efficacious were called forth against imaginary dangers, the reality of which they believed.

The spirit of superstition that reigned at that time, had persuaded people, that figures of wax
baptized,

baptized, and pierced for several days to the heart, brought about the death of him against whom they were intended; what happened in time of the league, reminds us how long this absurd and groundless opinion has been perceived.

Under Philip, the whole state was thought in danger; and those who, in compliance with their duty, had excited the king against Robert of Artois, shared the terror with which the royal house was seized; fresh oaths were exacted from the grandees for their fidelity to the king and his family, and from those who had given him counsel. These oaths were taken not only against Robert, but also against his two sons, as children of a criminal guilty of high treason of the first class; but this new crime having never been informed against nor judged, John of Artois, eldest son to Robert, was afterwards count of Eu, and Charles of Artois, his second son, became count of Longueville: these oaths are of the year 1334.

Philip de Valois was then ordered by new letters patent, the parliament to proceed against the rest of the forgerers and false witnesses. I am not going to mention those who had taken their flight, nor those who died either before prosecution, or before having been sentenced, nor of the witnesses whose depositions did not expose them to any enquiries, although the manuscript furnishes us with the most circumstantial details; these are private transactions totally superfluous in the history.

The process was resumed by virtue of Philip's letters of the 17th of February 1334; he recapitulates, in few words, the preceding transactions of the affair, the false informations wherewith the witnesses had been corrupted, and *for which no one had received sentence*: we know only of demoiselle Divion, who had been condemned at that time, and of the sentence passed against Robert Tesson, curate of St. André del Arcs, by the bishop of Paris, and *of which, it is said, some remain still to receive punishment*. The king orders that those who shall be found guilty, either by their confessions or otherwise, be condemned and punished, *soon and without delay in such manner as might be exemplary*.

These letters are cited at the head of the arret of parliament, which contains the process and sentence.

The attorney general proposed that the false witnesses should be brought to punishment. They were interrogated anew upon their former confessions; they all agreed as to the crimes that were imputed to them, as may be seen by their answers and confessions inserted in the process. We are going succinctly to notice them, indicating the sentence passed on them by the final arret of the 13th of May 1334.

1. Martin de Neufvort was the first who confessed the whole manœuvre that had been practised, and the forgeries that had been committed. His early repentance, and the discoveries he had made,
pro-

procured him his pardon. "The king, by a special grace, has remitted and pardoned him the punishment, which he had incurred, as appears by the king's letters." The form of these letters, granted to the guilty, was then nearly the same as is observed at the present time.

2. Robert Corbeau and James Rondelle, both ecclesiastics; *were delivered into the hands of their ordinary judges, to receive sentence according to their malversations* The manuscript does not apprise us; neither if their process has been made afterwards, nor before what ecclesiastical judge it had been made, nor even to what punishment they have been condemned; however we may infer from the judgment the bishop of Paris passed against Tesson what was their lot; besides this way of pronouncing sentence, seems to brand them as criminals, and to commit them into ecclesiastical power, for no other reasons than to inflict the merited canonical punishments on them, in the number of which, privation of benefice was then reckoned. So the arret seems tacitly to declare, that they lay under no capital sentence, and it only offers to the judge of the church, the option of the punishment to be pronounced against them, a very extraordinary formality, which would be rejected at present.

3. Gohier de la Chainé, Jean le Blanc, Giraud de Juvigny, and William de la Chambre, all four false witnesses, were condemned to stand twice on the
the

the pillory, the first time at Paris, and the second at Arras, for the three former; and at St. Germain-en-Lay, for the latter: they were declared deprived of their offices, and Giraud de Juvigny, the fourth, was moreover banished from the kingdom for perpetuity. The same arret orders also, that when these culprits shall be brought to the pillory, they shall be covered with a shirt with painted heads on them, *with red tongues issuing from their mouths*; an odd custom indeed, of which some traces may still be found in the punishments inflicted on children in convents and schools, to repress their propensity to lying.

4. William de la Planche, another false witness, was sentenced to put, at his own expence, and to carry them himself to the cathedrals of Paris and of Arras, two basons of silver, three marks weight, with a chain of the same metal, for suspending them in the churches as an everlasting memorial, and to furnish a wax-taper of three pounds, to burn every day during the celebration of the Great Mass; and for farther example, that La Planche shall depart from the *palais* of justice, carrying the bason, the taper, and the chain, in Arras, as well as in Paris.

5. Jeannette Desquenes, chamber maid to the demoiselle Divion, who had applied the seal of Philip-le-Bel to the false letters, and who had also born false testimony, was not sentenced in the same arret which ordered her to close prison, in expectation of a more solemn punishment. She was condemned

at

at last by a second arret, which is not related in the manuscript, where we only find, “ that she was
 “ burnt in the Swine-place, near the city of Paris;
 “ and that she persevered, when on the flaming
 “ pile, in her former confessions and declarations,
 “ humbly and earnestly entreating the attending
 “ people to supplicate the Almighty for her; that
 “ she had upon her salvation sworn secrecy to the
 “ said Robert, and sealed the false letters with the
 “ king’s seal, with strings of silk and green wax, with
 “ which Robert had supplied her. She also con-
 “ fessed, she had been present at the forgery com-
 “ mitted by the demoiselle Divion; whereupon
 “ the said Jeannette was committed to the flames,
 “ in the year 1335, Saturday before Ascension.”

All the false witnesses underwent the punishments pronounced against them, and *procès-verbaux* were drawn of their execution, which are inserted in the manuscript.

The day of the Ascension, De la Planche was conducted from the *palais*, on foot, to the church Notre Dame, carrying the bason, the chain, and the taper. When he had entered it, the causes of his condemnation were publicly and solemnly declared to the congregation. The same was repeated in the cathedral of Arras, according to the orders of the *procès-verbal*.

As to Robert of Artois, when he quitted Brabant to pass to England, Philip de Valois declared him guilty of high treason, by a declaration of the

7th of March, given at the Bois de Vincennes. We do not think proper to insert the copy, as it is printed entire, and in every respect the same as in the manuscript, in the collection of pieces concerning the peerage, by M. Lancelot.

It seems unnecessary to reflect in this place, on a declaration so uncommon in its nature, since the crime of high treason had only been announced, without having been verified, or formally been judged ; so that it seems to present a kind of declaration of war against Robert, and the king of England, a vassal to the king of France, for what he possessed in his kingdom, and who received Robert under his protection, rather than as an act of justice, as it could not produce, nor did produce, any other fruit but unrelenting reciprocal enmities.

After having examined the manuscript with close attention, it seems, one cannot help observing in the information, the compleatest proofs of the forgery committed by order of Robert of Artois and his wife ; that Philip is never unjust, as Lancelot attempted to prove, in the memoirs of the academy ; but that he may rather be asserted to be sometimes too compassionate to his sister, and too indulgent to his brother-in-law, whose haughtiness had brought on his ruin, by forbidding him to submit to an avowal of his crime, or to the asking the king's pardon.

As to the divers proceedings which have been traced, we think it of some use to unite in a kind

kind of summary, the principal remarks to which they have given room.

1. The civil and the criminal objects were confounded together in the information, and judged separately, the civil before the criminal.

2. The accused were judged separately for the same affair, and for the same subject. Robert was judged the first by the court of peers; the demoiselle Divion by the parliament, without the court of peers; the ecclesiastics by the judge of the church, and the other accused a long time after by the parliament; and always on the same proceedings by virtue of new letters patent from the king; an antiquated custom, which has not been transmitted to this time, as all the accused for the same crime ought to be judged together, or at least in successive order, and by the same proceeding, never interrupted or altered by fresh letters patent of the king, in any case whatsoever.

3. The depositions of the witnesses and their confessions, made at one time, by way of interrogatory; at another by a declaration, written and sealed by the seal of the witness, with liberty of adding, at pleasure, to their first assertions, and deprived at the same time of re-examinations and confrontations which are indispensable at present; might often have given birth to great errors, which yet have not been produced in the affair in question.

4. It also appears, that they condemned an accused on his avowal, whilst at present the avowal
of

of the guilty, constitutes in itself only one half of the proof demanded by the law, which orders, that for complete conviction, no less than two positive, uncorrupted, unsuspected, and above all, (either in themselves, or among them, in essential circumstances,) uncontradicting witnesses, should be required.

5. The crime of forgery of royal letters, or the king's seal, was then punished with death, and this was inflicted by fire.

6. The punishment of false witnesses varied in proportion to the nature of their false deposition.

7. The ancient way of making the process of a peer of France, was attended with tedious, difficult, and arduous forms, which enabled the accused to escape the sword of justice, whenever authority had not secured his person in the first instance.

8. The prosecutions intended against them, in case of absenting, were the basis of these observed now against an outlaw, though even a peer of France; and which, although reduced to great simplicity, are still in some measure exceptionable.

9. The convocation of the peers seems to have been no more essential in those times than at present, as for affairs relative to the interest of peers and peerdoms, save in criminal cases; but they could be convoked according to the conjunctures, and the degree of interest which the whole class of peers might have had in it, *tum maxime super paribus Franciæ.*

10. The

10. The letters of pardon and remission, were nearly of the same form as ours.

11. The privilege of asylum in sacred places was respected even in cases of high treason.

12. The royal justice caused to be publicly executed in churches, certain penances, such as were thought proper to be discharged to God, whilst at present they are done at the doors of the church; and though public scandals may still be perpetrated in churches, for which public reparations are exacted, yet they are no longer made in the church by the perpetrators in person, but at the door of the church.

13. The king, in certain occurrences, advised with the pope, to obtain delegations or briefs for a bishop, in order to open a process against ecclesiastics.

14. The royal judges remitted to the ecclesiastical judges the criminal affairs of clerks, either for being punished or judged.

15. It seems no distinct idea had as yet been conceived, about what has been called common crimes and privileged crimes.

16. They were sent to the judges of the church, though they had not claimed their privileges; whereas at present this only takes place in case it is claimed by the clerk; or if the bishop himself claims the cognizance of the cause, to be determined in his officiality.

17. The bishops made the criminal information themselves, if they thought proper, or they committed

mitted it to ecclesiastics, at their option. They sometimes only kept to themselves the cognizance of the definitive judgment; but at this day they can neither inform or judge the civil or criminal process pending at the officiality. They are obliged to nominate officers of justice, under the name of promotor and vice-promotor, officials and vice-agents, to consult on the affair, and which may not exercise their functions; till after having taken their oath, and being received in that character in the officiality, on provisions delegated by the prelate.

18. The bishops had the right of pronouncing temporal punishments, such as commitment to prison; and they reserved to themselves the right of fixing at pleasure, after judgment, the duration of that punishment; also to confiscate all the moveable property of the delinquent for their own profit, when he happened to be judged by them incapable of possessing any benefices. Their power at present is limited to pronouncing officially canonical punishments, such as the privation of benefices and penitential corrections, with retreats into seminaries, towards the reparation of the scandal, and reviving in themselves the spirit of the ecclesiastical vocation.

19. The importance of the competence of the royal judge, against clerks concerning crimes of violation of public order, was not yet felt in its full extent, and still less that of the joint information of the ecclesiastical and royal judges. Yet

in the midst of this confusion of proceedings, we may see the first dawn of that part of our laws, in the articles respecting frere Aubery, where the king's attorney informs, as promoter in the king's name, with the bishop as judge. It was at least the first feature of that rule, which was afterwards invigorated and sanctioned by the last laws issued on this matter, under the reign of Louis XIV. for ecclesiastics of the second class, without any thing being yet fixed on this subject with respect to the person of bishops.

20, and lastly. The ecclesiastical judges, (as we have seen) insert in their sentence, at least with respect to important affairs, the motives for their judgment.

The manuscript we have given an account of, ends with an extract of the whole process; it is a kind of report, very much abridged, which tends to establish the decision and reasoning of every part of the instructions and judgment that have been pronounced.

There exists also other manuscripts of the criminal process against Robert of Artois. D. Porier, one of the free resident fellows of the academy, has undertaken to compare and give a critical account of them. I have in this, confined myself to the manuscript before me, and more particularly to what could have respect to judiciary and criminal proceedings; more was useless. M. Lancelot has ex-

amined to the bottom what concerns Robert of Artois in the memorials inserted in the eighth and tenth volumes of the Collections of the Academy ; and I cannot add any thing to the researches of this learned and laborious Academician.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
A T A B E K P R I N C E S
I N S Y R I A.

By Aboulhafan Aly, furnamed Azzeddin, Son of Alathir-al-dgezeri, named Ebn-al-athir, or Ben-al-athir, a Writer in the Thirteenth Century of the Christian Æra.

Arabian Manuscript, No. 818, in Quarto, containing 372 Pages, on Oriental Paper, without a Title.

By M. DE GUIGNES.

IN the catalogue of the king's library, this manuscript, which contains the history of the Atabeks, that is, of the princes who have reigned at Mouffoul, in Mesopotamia, from the year 477 to 607 of the Hegira (from 1084 to 1210 of Jesus Christ), appears to be without the name of its author; and indeed it is not pointed out at the beginning of the book, which is even without a title; but in perusing it, one may easily be convinced that it cannot be any other than Ebn-al-athir or

Ben-al-athir-al-dgezeri, that is, born in Mesopotamia, called by the Arabians Dgezirat, or the Island. There are two authors of this name, who are brothers, as M. de Herbelot remarks under the word Athir. The first is Abouffaadat-al-mobarek Madgeddin, son of Mohammed Affcheibani, born at Dgezirat ben Omar, a city situated on the Tyger, above Mouffoul. He has written several works on the Mahomedan religion. His brother, who is the second, is also called Ebn-al-athir, and equally surnamed Al-Dgezeri, by reason of his native place, and his full name is Aboulhasan Aly Azzeddin. He has composed three histories; the first intitled *Kamel*, which is a general history; the second, *Ebrat ouli-al-abfar*, that is, *Examples for wise People*; and third, *The History of the Dynasty of the Atabeks*. However, at the word Tarikh Ebn-al-athir, the same M. de Herbelot ascribes to him two only, taking the *Ebrat* to be the same with the history of the Atabeks. This doubt would be removed if the manuscript we are going to give an account of had a title. It actually contains the history of the Atabeks; and what confirms us that it is Ebn-al-athir's, is, that the author makes mention of his brother Abouffaadat Madgeddin: he affirms that his father had been witness of the most part of the events he relates; that it is from him he has them; and adds, "that he did not think proper to give his history too large a size, because in his time people preferred abridgments." These are his words. The sciences had shared the fate of the khaliifs.

khaliffs. It was therefore to conform himself to the taste of his age, which he seems to disapprove, that he had made this an abridgment; but refers to another work, those who should prefer instruction to amusement.

Some other works are still ascribed to Ben-al-athir: and I find that Ben-el-ouardi makes him the author of a book intitled, *Adgiaïb-el-Makbloucat*; that is, *the Wonders of the Creatures*; but we are still in the dark, whether it was his work or that of his brother; however, as the author in question has, in this account, written much on history, I should be tempted to conjecture that this latter work is one of his productions. If we believe M. D'Herbelot, this writer settled at Mouffoul, and died in the year 630 of the Hegira (of Jesus Christ 1232). Under the word *Kamel*, he names him *Az-zeddin-ali*, son of Mohammed, son of *Abdolkerim Affcheibani*. We are too little versed in the literary history of the Orientals to pronounce on this head. The examination we are making of the manuscripts of the king's library may of course give us the light we desire; I shall not therefore hazard any assertion on what concerns this historian.

For a knowledge of the events related in this history of the Atabeks, we must recollect what has already been said in the history of Masoudi; that the empire of the khalifs was annihilated, and that those monarchs were no more than pontifs of the Mussulman religion. The princes Bouïdes, who had stripped them of their whole authority, left

them but a shadow of respect and vain honours; but towards the year 1029, of Jesus Christ, the Turks, named *Seljoucides*, in their turn, dispossessed the Bouides of their dominions, and made themselves master of Persia, of Bagdad, and several other countries, which formed them a most considerable empire, in those tracts which had been before under the jurisdiction of the khalifs. The Seljoucides, who continued to regard those as simple pontiffs, bore the title of *sultan*, then more eminent than that of *malek* or *king*, which they left to those of their attendants, who had principal offices about them, and on which they bestowed large governments, which formed a kind of fiefs. Those fiefs were transmitted to the issue of those who had obtained them, provided the sultan had confirmed them. These governors may be called as many sovereigns, who made war against one another, without the sultan's taking much concern in it; of this class were the Atabeks, of which Ben-al-athir gives us the history. There were, however, some other petty princes in Syria who had subsisted there before the conquest of the Seljouc Turks. The Greeks, the Franks, and the Crusaders, were also masters of some parts of it, and the Atabeks had frequent quarrels with them. The recital Ben-al-athir makes, must therefore greatly contribute to elucidate the history of our Crusades; and it is in this view I am going to give an account to some extent. In our historians the names of the Oriental princes and towns are very disfigured; here we may distinguish them
with

with certainty. Besides, it may not be amiss to produce the sentiments of the Mussulman historians on those wars, which are so much the subject of censure at present, though in the different motives which have occasioned them, we should not overlook the commerce to India, and the benefit that has accrued to the arts.

Malekschah, sultan of the Seljoucides, had in his service a Turk, named *Casim eddoulet Acsancar*, who had rose himself at court, where he enjoyed so considerable a credit, that the first vizier, Nedham Almoulk, one of the great men of his age, took umbrage. This vizier found no other expedient to discard the favourite, than to prevail on the prince to send him with an army towards Aleppo. Casim Eddoulet Acsancar, charged with this expedition, departed with his troops, and accompanied by another vizier, marched towards Diarbekr, in the year 477 * of the Hegira, (of Jesus Christ 1084.) He came up on his way with the emir Ortok, king of Mossoul, who voluntarily submitted to the sultan, and obtained thereby the restitution of his country †.

* This year 477, begun the 9th of May 1084, and ended the 27th of April 1085. In what concerns the Franks, I point out the beginning and the end of the Hegira, as this year may often be applied to two years of the Christian æra, which might make an apparent difference in the historians.

† Ben-al-athir, speaking of this expedition, says, “ *As I have related it in the Tarikh, or the chronicle under the reign of Moustaedi,*” this is likely that Universal History, intituled, *Kamel*, of which M. D’Herbelot speaks.

The city of Aleppo was then under the command of Scharfed-doulet Mousslim, of the Arabian family named the Merouanides, or the Ocailites; and that of Antiochia, dependant on the Greeks, annually paid him a tribute. The inhabitants discontented a short time since with their governor, named Phardrous, happened to call in Soliman, son of Coutholmisch, one of the Seljouc princes; the latter immediately set off, took possession of the city, put several inhabitants to the sword, and stripped them of all their riches. Scharfed-doulet then imposed on Soliman, now master of Antiochia, the usual tribute, but he refused to pay it, and they came to action in the year 478, (of Jesus Christ 1085,*) but Scharfed-doulet abandoned in the heat of battle by the Arabians and the Turkomans, was worsted and killed in his flight. This prince possessed the country from Sindia in Erac, on the river Issa, down to Manbedge; all the intermediate countries along the Euphrates, such as Moussoul, Diar-rabia, Diardgezira, Aleppo, and other places, which were all under his dominion. The inhabitants of the latter of these cities meditated their return to Soliman, who was killed not long after, and then they submitted to the sultan Malekschah, who by the advice of the great vizier, Nedham Almoulk, gave this city, together with those of Hama, Manbedge, and Ladikia, to the emir Casim Eddoulet Acfancar;

* In the month Sepher, this year has begun the 28th of April 1085, and ended the 16th of April 1086.

thus

thus the author establishes the first introduction of the emir to power.

In the year 485, (of Jesus Christ 1092 *,) the grand vizier was killed, and the sultan Malekschah died a short time after, aged thirty-eight years and six months, of which he had reigned about twenty. His empire was of an immense extent, the khotbha, or public prayers, were made under his name, from the frontiers of China to those of Greece. Yemen and Hedgiaz, countries which had always maintained their independence, acknowledged his sovereignty, as the author observes. We have hinted already, that public prayer, in which mention of the prince was made, independent of the prayer for the khalif, was the greatest mark of sovereignty. The emperor of Constantinople, the kings of Tharaz, of Esphidgian, of Khaschgar, of Balasgoun, of Samarcand, and of Maouarennahar, paid annually a tribute to Malekschah; it was, as we see, another empire formed on the ruins of that of the khalifs, who were not restricted within the limits of their ecclesiastical functions. Malekschah was a prince of a mild and generous disposition towards his enemies; he ordered cisterns to be made on the way to Mecca for the use of the pilgrims, which in those dry wildernesses is of the greatest benefit; he opened channels in different places, and constructed a college near the tomb of Imam Abouhanifa, a sumptuous

* This year begun the 11th of February 1092, and finished the 30th of January 1093.

tuous mosque at Bagdad, a minaret in the environs of Koufa, and another at Samarcand.

After the death of this sultan, there were, during twelve years, contests for the succession to the empire, which the author relates, and which were only put an end to, by the death of Barkiaroc, son of Malekschah. It was during that space that the Franks came to make themselves masters of Lahel, or of Phenicia, of Antiochia, and several other places, which the author says he has related in his great chronicle. Casim Eddoulet Acsancar, master of Aleppo, though dependant on the sultan, who did not interfere with the disputes of the emirs for small cantons, made peace with his neighbours; afterwards being defeated in another action and made prisoner, was killed in the year 487, (of Jesus Christ 1094 *), in which also died the khalif Moctadi, who had for successor Mostadher Billah; for the proclamation of this khalif the sultans ratification was first necessary; but Mostadher was proclaimed before they had published the death of Moctadi; they then made Barkiaroc, who was then at Bagdad, acquainted with it. This prince sent immediately some of his officers who proclaimed the new khalif; they next proclaimed the sultan himself, and deputed several persons to use the same ceremony at Ghazna, in Maouarennahar, in Kirman and in Syria. In the prayers they commemo-

* This year has begun the 20th of January 1094, and finished the 9th of January 1095.

morated the khalif, and next to him the sultan. Such was the custom of the Mussulmans; and in places where there was a vassal in the sultan's dependence, they also added to the prayer, the name of that petty prince, a custom which subsists also among us. We relate these circumstances, to enable us to form a judgment of the real state of the khalifs.

After the death of Casim Eddoulet Acsancar, his son Emadeddin Zenghi, aged ten years, succeeded him; but was forced, in order to maintain himself, fervently to court the different emirs, who were then contesting the different countries of Syria. He attached himself to the most powerful, at first to Dgiouli Sacaou, who had conquered Mouffoul, then to the emir Albourki; and in the year 511, (of J. C. 1117*,) he began to fix his reputation to advantage. The Sejouc princes quarrelled for the empire, and the author relates the details of their distractions. At last, Zenghi obtained from the sultan the government of Mouffoul, which was to be taken by force, as in those times, these princes often distributed governments which were to be conquered.

The Franks, says the author, were then most powerful in those countries, and kept up numerous armies, were masters from Maredin and Schekhanan to Arisch in Egypt; there remained to the Mussulmans only Aleppo, Hemeffa, Hama, and Damas-

* This year began the 4th of May, 1117, and finished 22d April, 1118.

cus: they possessed the tract between Diardgezira, Nesibin and Ras Alaïn. In the year 521 of the Hegira, (1027 of J. C.) Zenghi expelled the enemy from Mouffoul, conquered Diardgezira, and Nesibin, which had belonged to the emir Albourski; he obtained the sultan's agreement for his keeping them, took afterwards several other cities, and pursued his victories as far as the country of Haran; the Franks possessed Roha, or Edeffa, Saroude, and other places of Diardgezira. The inhabitants of Haran, little satisfied with their neighbourhood, solicited Zenghi to approach to their succour; he flew without loss of time, and took possession of that place. Then this prince wrote to Josselin, to inform him of his success, as also of the design he meditated against Aleppo. They made peace together in the year 522 of the Hegira, (of J. C. 1128*,) he entered that city at the request of its inhabitants, after having taken Manbedge and the castle of Bouzaa. In the year 524 of the Hegira, (of J. C. 1130†,) he carried his arms against the Ortokide princes: took several of them, and then concluded a peace with them; but as our limits do not permit us to follow this author in his various details, we shall particularly select for this account, what has any relation to the Franks. It is known, that this prince, under the

* This year began the 5th of January, 1128, and ended the 23d December of the same year.

† This year began the 14th of December, and ended the 2d of December, 1130.

name of Sanguin, is famed in the history of our crusades. After having made peace with the Ortokides, he marched against the Franks, who, from the fortress of Athareb, greatly molested the Musfulmans of Aleppo. Zenghi made himself master of the castle, levelled it to the ground, and hastened to lay siege to Haran; but as he had a number of wounded in his army, he made peace, and returned without taking that important place.

Zenghi took part the following year, 525, (of J. C. 1131*,) in the contests which originated in the family of the Seljoucide sultans. Mahmoud, aged 28 years, happened to die, and Masoud had been nominated sultan, a war broke out between the princes of that family, in which Zenghi acted a considerable part, according to the author. He embraced the interest of Masoud, and marched toward Bagdad, where the khalif Mostarsched hearing that Masoud had just been beaten, had assembled some troops, and entered the city, to defend it against Zenghi. About the end of Redjeb, of the year 526, (of J. C. 1132†,) the armies found themselves in presence of one another. The khalif was encamped under a black tent, which was the colour of the Abassides. At the sight of this pontiff of their religion, at the head of his army sword in hand, his enemy seized with fear and respect, took

* This year began the 3d of Dec. 1130, and ended the 22d Nov. 1131.

† This year began the 23d of Nov. 1131, and ended the 10th of Nov. 1132.

to flight, and Zenghi retreated to Mouffoul. The khalif, who seemed now to reacquire some authority, declared himself for the party of Masoud; but new divisions between the Seljoucides induced him to alter his inclination: he put a stop in Bagdad to public prayers for this sultan, and quitted the city. Masoud came up to him, routed, took him prisoner, and seized on all his goods, which caused a violent ferment in Bagdad.

When the khalifs were employed in stipulating the articles of peace among them, the khalif detained prisoner was assassinated by a troop of Bothenians, who struck off his head, and left him uncovered. Succours was brought to him, but too late; some Bothenians were put to death, others escaped, and the body of the khalif remained extended on the ground the remainder of the day and the ensuing night. The inhabitants of Maraga, a city in whose vicinity the catastrophe had happened, performed his obsequies, and the sultan Masoud sent an officer to Bagdad, with power to nominate another khalif. It was Rasched Billah, who was proclaimed. Such was the state of the successors of those who had erected the empire and the religion of the Mussulmans. The Bothenians here in question, are those which we call *the assassins*, who had at their head the *old man of the mountain*. This happened in the year 529 of the Hegira, (of J. C. 1135 †). Zenghi once

* This year began the 21st of Oct. 1134, and ended the 9th of Oct. of the year 1135.

more intermeddled in the troubles which arose between the sultan and the new khalif, and was constrained to return to Mouffoul, whilst the sultan made himself master of Bagdad. After those details, let us now pass to transactions of a nearer and more interesting nature to us.

In the year 532 of the Hegira, the emperor of Constantinople, which our author calls *simply the king of Roum*, followed by the Franks, passed into Syria with a numerous army, and spread a general terror. As Zenghi could not then leave Mouffoul, the Greeks first made themselves masters of Bouzaa, near Aleppo, where they did not even spare the children; then laid siege to Schizour, from before which they carried off eighteen engines. The emir Aboulafaker, to whom it belonged, sent for succours to Zenghi, who did not delay to repair with his army to Hama, where he found the enemy encamped on a mountain at the east of that place. He proposed to them to descend, and make proof of their strength on the plain, offering to abandon to them Schizour if he should be vanquished; provided in case he should obtain the victory, they would consent to withdraw, and desist from disturbing the Mussulmans. He only wanted to intimidate them, as he was not strong enough to cope with them. The Franks urged the emperor to meet him. Zenghi, on the other hand, insinuated to those of the Franks who had formerly settled in Syria, that the emperor waited only for an occasion of deceiving them, and that if he should take one
single

single fortrefs in that country, he would invade all they were in poffeffion of. He fucceeded by this ftratagem to create fo much diftruff among them, that the emperor of Conftantinople was obliged to raife the fieve, after an attack of twenty-four days, leaving all his machines behind. Zenghi fet out on his purfuit; he defeated his rear guard, plundered his baggage, and took him, with a great many prifoners. If the Greeks, obferves the author, had taken Schizour, nothing would have remained to the Muffulmans in that region. The poets celebrated this victory, and Zenghi went to take the caftle of Arca in the environs of Tripoli, made the Franks who held out in it prifoners, demolifhed the place, and returned rich with booty.

All the emirs of that tract were then warring againft each other; dominions were taken and retaken, without the fultan's interfering in the divifions of vaffals. In the year 533*, Zenghi laid fieve to Damafcus, which furrendered; he took Baalbek fword in hand, next he made his way into the country of the Franks, and after a bloody combat, he forced them to fly into the caftle of Barin, which he laid fieve to. The Franks were too hafty in capitulating; if they had kept firm but two days longer, Zenghi, in confequence of the fuccours that were near for them, would have been compelled to raife the fieve; he had been informed of it,

* Began the 27th of Auguft of the year 1139, and ends the 15th of Auguft 1140.

and he made all the haste he could to take possession of the place. Barin was situated on the extremity of the country of the Franks; from thence they made excursions between Hama and Aleppo, incessantly distressing the Mussulmans. After this important reduction, he sent to take Maara and Kafartab, cities whose environs were at once very populous and very fertile.

The Franks and the Roums, newly landed in Syria, not having been in a capacity to carry succours to Barin, turned towards Aleppo, of which they formed the siege. At the sight of such an innumerable army, Zenghi, terrified, gave advice to the sultan Masoud, and requested him to send the necessary succours. Ben-al-athir assures us he had heard it of his father, who was then living, and who was informed by the cadhi, the carrier of the letter to Zenghi, what he is going to relate. Notwithstanding the danger menacing Syria in that conjuncture, the sultan paid little attention to the letter and command of Zenghi, and the cadhi, obliged to recur to artifice, to engage this prince in the defence of his states, threw some pieces of gold among the people, and persuaded the *khatib*, that is, him who recited the discourse, or prayer from the tribunal, to advertise the people of what was passing in Syria; which he exactly complied with. In fact, when the other ascended the tribunal, he exclaimed, in a lamentable voice, *Ob islamisur! O religion, O Mahomet!* The people, in a crowd, thronged out of the mosque, and surrounded

the sultan's palace, intreating him to send the desired succours; the same art was practised in the other mosques, and was attended with equal success. From this recital we may infer, how much the Mussulmans thought themselves endangered on the arrival of their new foes, and to what an extremity the insensibility of the sultans, to the preservation and defence of their states arose. It is true as we remarked already, that the emirs, like our grand vassals, bound to some marks of obedience towards the sultan, were uncontrouled as to their power. The sultan, frightened by the tumult, ordered the cadhi before him, and reproached him for having strove to excite a sedition. The latter gave for answer, that the enemy was at a small distance, and that if he took Aleppo, Bagdad would soon fall into his power, as there was no intermediate place which could retard his progress. Here the sultan ordered, that twenty thousand men, cavalry, should immediately be put under arms; but as this troop was upon the point of departing, fresh letters were received by Zenghi, importing that the Greeks and Franks had raised the siege of Aleppo, and were retreating.

Zenghi, free from such formidable enemies, went in 537* to make incursions into the country of the Kurdes. In 538†, he had different misunderstand-

* Began the 26th of July of the year 1142, and end the 11th of July 1143.

† This year began the 15th of July, 1143, and end the 2d of July, 1144.

ings with the sultan, and re-ingratiated himself by certain sums of money he paid. Then he reduced several places of the Diarbekir, and in 539, advanced to form the siege of Roha, or Edeffa, then in the hands of the Franks. It was count Josselin who was then master of it. He was, says the author, the bravest and most valiant of the Franks. After a siege of twenty-eight days, Zenghi took possession of the city. Ben-al-athir gives a distinguished eulogium of that prince, on the subject of this conquest, which was looked upon as one of the most important obtained over the Franks. By these details, which we abridge, may be collected how far the history of our crusades may be assisted. Zenghi then proceeded to take the castle of Barin, which was still under the command of Josselin, and thence to besiege the fortress of Dgiaber; but during his sleep, a troop of his own slaves fell upon him, cut his throat, and took refuge in the castle: it was the besieged garrison who apprised the army of his death.

We must not always judge of those princes agreeable to the descriptions of our own historians of crusades. Zenghi, according to Ben-al-athir, was one of the greatest men of his age. He rendered himself commendable by his wisdom, prudence, and courage: all his subjects lived in security; he was always the defender of the weak, knew how to repress the violence of his emirs, and never suffered them to invade the property of

others ; he made his own conduct a worthy example, and preferred suffering himself, rather than to expose others. He never suffered his troops to keep any lands, as it might prove an occasion to vexations on the people ; and he used to say, “ As
“ long as we are the masters of our country, we
“ shall always find means to subsist ; if we are drove
“ out, we shall be forced to abandon every thing.” He was incessantly taken up with the government of his states, introduced plenty, and repaired the fortifications ; his vigilance was universal, and he did not permit any one of his subjects to pass into foreign service. “ My states (said he) resemble a
“ garden, encompassed with hedges ; if any one
“ goes out, he facilitates an entrance to the enemy.” He called in the Turkomans (to whom he assigned the vicinity of Aleppo) to resist the Franks. He distributed largesses in different cities, that he, on his journies, might never be in want of any. He caused every Friday, vast sums of money to be dispensed to the poor ; paid a constant attention to his soldiers, and took the greatest care to protect their women from insults : this was a crime he could not forgive. He said, “ Since my sol-
“ diers follow me continually, and abandon their
“ houses to attend me ; should not I watch over the
“ security of their families ?” He extended his conquests on all his neighbours, on the Franks, on the Ortokide princes, and on all those who reigned over Damascus.

Such

Such is, in a few words, the sketch which Ben-al-athir draws of the character of this Mussulman prince; and there are several more instances of the like virtues of those nations which we sometimes undeservedly treat as barbarians, because they were our enemies, and Mussulmans. After his death, troubles broke out about the succession. It would be too tedious to relate the author's details; suffice it to say, that his son Noureddin made himself master of Aleppo, and that his other son Seïfeddin remained at Moussoul. The former is the celebrated Noureddin, who is so frequently spoken of in the history of our crusades.

The count Josselin of Courtenai, heretofore master of Edeffa, had retired to Tellbascher*, after the reduction of this city. From that place he conveyed information to the inhabitants of Edeffa, who for the most part were Armenians, that on an appointed day, he would come with his troops to retake the place, to which they consented. Josselin effectually re-entered this city; but the castle held out, and Noureddin, the king of Aleppo, flew to the protection of the garrison, a diversion which constrained Josselin to retreat. Noureddin put part of the inhabitants to the sword, took a great many prisoners with him, and left but a small

* It seems, according to Père Mainbourg, in his History of the Crusades, that Josselin had freely left Edeffa. This however is untrue. Sanute pretends, that he had only neglected to render it defensible, He withdrew to Tellbascher only after the taking of this city.

number in the city, where he had collected an immense booty.

Edeffa remained then in his possession.

After that conquest he concluded a peace with his brother the king of Mouffoul, which formed two principalities of Atabeks. It is thus that those petty sovereigns were called; the one was at Aleppo, and the other at Mouffoul. Atabek signifies the father of the prince; it is the title which the sultans gave to some of their emirs. The princes of Mouffoul, more distant from the possessions of the Franks, had in consequence less intercourse with them; and as we give only an account from our author, we shall pass in silence the broils that broke forth between these princes of the same family. The details we meet with in this work form no part of our plan; and we shall confine ourselves to such as may concern our crusades, and even those we shall abridge.

We should here call to memory, that about the years 1146 and 1147, the emperor Conrad III. with several German princes, Henry of Suabia, and others, undertook a new crusade. Lewis VII. king of France, attended by a great number of French lords, set out with the same intention. It was in the year 843*, according to Ben-al-athir, that information was given, that the *king of the Germans* was arrived with an innumerable army in Syria; that he had united with the Franks of Sakel or Phenicia;

* Began the 21st of May, 1148, and end the 9th of May, 1149.

and that they were jointly approaching to besiege Damascus. This city was then possessed by Mod-girredin-ibk ; but the whole authority lay in the hands of one of his slaves, named Moïn-eddin, a wise and prudent man. The most part of the Asiatic princes had in the same manner always slaves who governed for them ; the eastern effeminacy did not permit them to take the government of their states into their own hands. It is by the like conduct that the khalifs have been overthrown, and that the power of the Seljouc sultans, and even their great vassals has been undermined, and by which so many revolutions have happened in the east. It was the 16th of Rabi-al-aoul that the Franks arrived before Damascus. Moïn-eddin gave immediate notice thereof to Seïf-eddin, king of Moussoul. The latter intimated to the foreign Franks that he would make war against them if they would not retire. The author distinguishes these Franks by the epithet *foreign*, which denotes those lately arrived from Europe ; and by *Franks of Sakel*, which marks those who had been established a long time on the coasts of the sea and in Syria. On his side, Moïneddin spread a rumour, that the sultan of the east was advancing with his powerful armies. At the same time he wrote to the Franks in Syria, to inspire them with fear and jealousy against those foreign Franks. “ If they,” says he, “ obtain possession of Damascus, nothing remains for you in this country ; and if I am compelled to put the place into the hands of Seïf-

“ eddin, you will never be able to hinder him from taking Jerusalem.” He offered them, at the same time, the city of Paneas, if they could prevail upon the king of the Germans to retire. The Franks of Syria, who were not averse to these proposals, frightened the foreign Franks with the arrival of Seïf-eddin; and gave them to understand, that if this prince should happen to open his way into Damascus, nothing of what they possessed in Syria, would be spared or left them. Then the king of the Germans raised the siege and retreated, Moïn-eddin, on his side, remained faithful to his promise with respect to the Franks of Syria, and resigned to them the city of Paneas.

Such was the conclusion of this crusade, which had no success, owing to the jealousy which the Franks of Syria entertained against those of Europe, who appeared to come to their assistance, whilst in truth they made it their endeavours to establish themselves on the ruin of the former. It was an extensive colony we had planted, and which attracted the envy of all the Europeans who crowded thither, either to plunder the former colonists, or to make new conquests. As in those times nothing was transacted without the pope’s influence, we have considered those wars as wars of religion.

After the Franks had abandoned Damascus, (continues the Arabian historian) the two brothers Nouredin and Seïf-eddin, who repaired to Baalbek, received a letter from the count of Tripoli (Raimond)

(Raimond) to induce to come and take the castle of Arima, which belonged to the foreign Franks. It was the son of Alphonso, king of Sicily, newly arrived, who had despoiled him of this place, and was inclined to disposses him even of Tripoli. Noureddin immediately marched towards the castle, and notwithstanding the vigorous resistance of the besieged, made himself master of it by a capitulation; by which it was agreed, that the men, women, and children should quit it, which was executed: the son of Alphonso was of the number. Afterwards Noureddin caused the place to be demolished.

I omit some other expeditions against the Franks, and the narrative of the death of Seïf-eddin, king of Moussoul, which happened in 544*. In the same year Noureddin went with a design to besiege the castle of Harem, which belonged to the Franks; but he only pillaged the environs, and then marched against the castle of Anab. The Franks assembled immediately, having at their head Albornos, or Brins, master of Antiochia (Raimond prince of Antiochia). The two armies fought a bloody battle, in which the prince of Antiochia lost his life. He left an infant son behind him, named Boemund, who remained with his mother in that city, where this princess married another prince, who commanded until Boemund was of age to govern.

* Began the 10th of May, 1149, and end the 28th of April, 1150.

In course of time, Noureddin gave battle several times to the Franks : in one of them he took captive the prince whom the princess of Antiochia had married, and Boemund reigned alone, until he was also made prisoner by Noureddin in 559. The poets made verses on the subject of this victory, which Noureddin obtained over the army of Antiochia.

In the same year 544 (of Jesus Christ 1149) he marched towards Arphamia, or Apamea, one day's journey from Harem. It was still in the possession of the Franks, and reputed a strong place, being situated on an eminence, whence they made excursions into the territories of Hama and of Schizour. Noureddin gave the garrison no breath, and took the place before the arrival of the succours, which the Franks were expecting. He found provisions and ammunition in great abundance ; thence he marched towards the Franks, whom he forced to retreat. The poets also sung this expedition.

He then turned his arms towards the dominions of Josselin, which consisted of several castles, situated north of Aleppo, such as Tellbascher, Aintab, Ezaz, &c. but he was over-powered, and his esquire, who was made prisoner, was sent by Josselin to Masoud, sultan of Iconium and of Acsara, whose daughter Noureddin had taken in marriage. Josselin signified to this prince, that he had sent him the arms of his son-in-law, and that he would soon send him in person. Noureddin, irritated at this defeat and affront

front, only studied to revenge himself. He engaged a troop of Turkomans, to whom he made great promises, if they would deliver him Josselin alive or dead. They took advantage of a hunting party which the count went to, with a few attendants, and seized him. They were on the point of letting him go again for some presents, but one of them having given notice to the governor of Aleppo, the latter informed Nouredin of it, who was at Emessa, and immediately sent some troops, who carried Josselin off to the Turkomans. This was looked upon as equal to the greatest victory the Mussulmans had gained. This Josselin (says the author) was the most terrible of devils, and the greatest enemy to the Mussulmans. In every battle he was at the head of the Franks, who knew his bravery, his intrepidity, his prudence, and his hatred to Islamism.

By this capture the country remained without defenders, and it was easy to get possession of most of the fortresses, as Tellbascher, Aïntab, Ezaz, Couros, Ravandan, the castle of Bada, Tell-Khaled, Kafarlatha, Rafarfoud, the castle of Sarphout, Dalouk, Marasch, Nahar-al-Dgiouz, and Bourge-er-Rassafs. I name them all here, because most of their names are disfigured in the historians of the Crusades. Nouredin fortified and placed good garrisons in them. At this news the Franks re-assembled their armies, and having begun their march to prevent them from taking rest, they met them near Dalouk, came to action with them, and after

after a violent engagement, they were obliged to take flight, and Nouredin made himself master of Dalouk, and other places.

We shall not here detain our readers with the death of sultan Masoud, which happened at Hamadan, nor of a new sultan being proclaimed, who was, as we have said, the sovereign of all Asia. Nouredin himself was only one of his principal vassals. In the year 549*, this prince made himself master of Damascus, which belonged to Modgiredin-ibk; the Franks the year before had taken Ascalon, one of the strongest places in Palestine, without his being able to prevent them, because the city of Damascus lay in his way. The Franks equally endeavoured to seize it, and kept up a correspondence in the place. The citizens of Damascus, seeing themselves besieged by Nouredin, demanded succours from the Franks, promising them a sum of money, and the castle of Baalbik, if they would raise the siege, which they could not effect. Nouredin entered Damascus and recovered Hemasca, whither the king of Damascus had retired.

The Franks and Nouredin were too near neighbours to live in peace. Each sought to extend their territories, and Nouredin again besieged the castle of Harem, as he had done several times before. This castle, which belonged to Boemond prince of Antioch, was in the vicinity of that place, and west of Aleppo: it was very strongly fortified, and commanded by one of the bravest captains

* This happened in 546 of the Hegira; of Jesus Christ 1157.

among the Franks, who defended himself so courageously, that Noureddin was compelled to retire. In the year 552 the country was laid waste by an earthquake. Noureddin was very active to protect the places that had suffered by it from the attempts of the Franks, and made himself master of Schizour, a castle belonging to the Monkadites, situated on a steep rock half a day's journey from Hama. The only way to this castle was by a path cut in the rock at the side of the mountain: this path was interrupted in the middle, by a moveable wooden bridge, which, when taken away, rendered it impossible to proceed. This castle was laid in ruins by the earthquake, and Noureddin, by his activity, prevented the Franks from making themselves masters of it as they had intended.

I shall take no notice here of the troubles which took place in Bagdat in 553, and which gave full employment to Zeineddin prince of Mouffoul; I shall also pass over the death of the khalif Moctafi, who was succeeded in 555 (A. D. 1160) by Mostandjed; and the divisions in the sultan's family; and shall return to the expeditions of Noureddin against the Franks. In 557 this prince again assembled his troops to besiege the castle of Harem: but he still found it so well fortified and defended that he could not take it. After having in vain offered battle to the Franks, who had assembled their forces, he returned to Aleppo.

The year following, 558, Noureddin, always an enemy to the Franks, assembled all his forces, entered

tered again into their territories, and encamped in a plain (Rakia) at the foot of a castle belonging to the Kurdes (Hisn-el-akrad). His design was to march thence to Tripoli; but, whilst he least expected it, he was surprised in his camp by the Franks, so that his troops had not time to mount their horses, or even to take arms. The carnage was terrible, and the Franks took many prisoners, and all the baggage. A Greek, named Ducas, was the most violent against the Mussulmans on this occasion. Nouredin made his escape in the utmost disorder towards Hemeffa, and encamped at Bahirat-couds, one parasang from that city, and four from the field of battle. It was supposed he would have gone as far as Aleppo, but he was too brave. "Let me have but a thousand horse," said he, "I shall not be afraid of the Turks, whatever be their number." He wrote immediately to Damascus and Aleppo for money, provisions, tents and arms. The Franks intended to pursue him, but learning that he halted near Hemeffa, they did not think proper to attack him there, and proposed a truce, to which he refused his consent. They then fortified the castle of the Kurdes and returned.

On his part, Nouredin meditated an expedition of more importance than the taking a few castles from the Franks; it was the conquest of Egypt. He sent one of his principal emirs, named Schirkouh, with an army to subdue this country, in the year 559. This emir and his brother Nodjmed-
din

din-Ayoub, both sons of Schadi, were from the country of Douin, and Kurdes by birth, being of the tribe of Kouadia, the most noble and illustrious amongst the Kurdes. This is worth remarking, for the purpose of ascertaining the origin of Saladin, the son of Nodjmeddin-Ayoub, and consequently nephew to Schirkouh. These two Kurdes had come to Erac, where they entered into the service of Moudgiaheddin, who, finding in Nodjmeddin much sense, prudence, and good conduct, gave him the post of dizdar at Tekrit. Schirkouh accompanied his brother; but killing a man sometime afterwards, Moudgiaheddin expelled them both from the city. They then repaired to Emadeddin Zenghi, who gave Nodjmeddin the place of dizdar in the castle of Baalbek. After divers events, and particularly the death of Zinghi, Schirkouh was compelled to quit this city also. The two brothers followed Nouredin; he employed them in his troops, and at length gave Schirkouh the command of the expedition against Egypt.

Nouredin was induced to send an army into Egypt by Schaour, vizir of Adhedledin-allah, khalif of Egypt, who, having been deposed, had retired to Nouredin the year before, and pretended it was to be feared, that the Franks would make themselves masters of that country. In fact, they had constantly endeavoured to establish themselves there; Nouredin therefore sent Schirkouh at the head of an army, in the month Dgiou-madi-el-aoual

el-aoual of the year 559 (of Jesus Christ 1164), with orders to restore the vizier to his office. He accompanied him with another body of troops as far as the frontiers of the Muffulman territories. Schirkouh arrived in Egypt, re-established the vizier, and remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Caïro. But Schaour, far from keeping the promises he had made to Noureddin and Schirkouh, wrote to the latter, to induce him to return into Syria. Schirkouh persisted in remaining, put him in mind of his promises, and finding that Schaour no longer gave him any answer, he detached one of his officers to seize the city of Bilbeïs. Schaour, on his side, demanded succour from the Franks, informing them that Noureddin wanted to get possession of Egypt, which the Franks feared above all things: they hastened therefore to answer him, and prepared to go to his assistance, as their intention was to make themselves masters of the country. Noureddin, who was informed of this, assembled his forces, and approached their frontiers to make a diversion. The king of Jerusalem (Amauri) left a part of his troops to guard his territories, and marched with the rest towards Egypt. At the same time a great number of Franks, newly arrived by sea to visit Jerusalem, joined the king. Schirkouh was soon besieged in Bilbeis, where he had retired with his army. Though the walls of this city were in a bad state, and there was no ditch, the Franks remained before the city three months. During this time Noureddin prepared for laying
siege

siege to the castle of Haram, in Syria, a place of importance, and which he had often endeavoured to take. The Franks, informed of this, and fearing he would then go to Paneas, proposed to Schirkouh to restore to the Egyptians what he had taken from them, and to return into Syria, assuring him that they also would retire on their side. Schirkouh, ignorant of what passed on the part of Noureddin, accepted these proposals and evacuated Bibleïs.

Noureddin, after the defeat we have mentioned above, had assembled all his forces, and those of his neighbouring allies, and sat down before Harem with a great number of engines of war. The Franks had at their head Al-brins, (the prince) governor of Antioch, and Coms (the count) governor of Tripoli: the son of Josselin, who was one of the most brave and illustrious of the Franks, al Douk (the duke) who commanded the Greeks, hastened to their assistance. Noureddin defeated them in a general engagement, killed ten thousand, and took many prisoners, amongst whom were their chiefs: after this victory he marched towards Harem, and made himself master of it the 21st of Ramadhan. He was advised to go and take Antioch also, but this new expedition he would not undertake, and contented himself with a ransom for the prisoners.

In the year 560, Noureddin took the castle of Paneas, the Franks being too much weakened by their late defeat to succour that place: he found in it immense riches. In the year 561, he made him-

self master of Mounaidhara, (the castle of Mirabel) which belonged to them, took it by assault, and killed or made prisoners all that were in the place.

The following year, 562, he sent Schirkouh into Egypt, of which he was extremely desirous of becoming master. Schaour, who commanded there under the authority of the khaliff, being informed of the arrival of Nouredin's troops, acquainted the Franks with his situation, and demanded assistance. They immediately marched to join Schaour: Schirkouh met them at Babain, and, giving battle, defeated them. This, says the author, was one of the most surprising actions mentioned in history, a thousand horse having put to flight the combined army of the Egyptians and Franks. After this victory Schirkouh took possession of Alexandria, the command of which he gave to his nephew Saladin, and took the road to Saïd. The Franks and Egyptians had retired to Caïro, from whence they went to besiege Alexandria. This place was in want of provisions: Schirkouh returned, peace was proposed, and he agreed to it, on condition that they gave him fifty thousand dinars, or pieces of gold, that he should keep what he had taken, but that Alexandria should be restored, and that the Franks should not remain in Egypt, nor possess any place in that country. After signing the treaty Schirkouh returned into Syria, and arrived at Damascus in the month Dhoulhedge.

On

On the other hand the Franks secretly agreed with Schaour that they should have a body of troops in Caïro, to guard the gates, to prevent Nouredin from making himself master of it, and that he should be paid a hundred thousand dinars a year. Adhed, khalif of Egypt, was ignorant of all these treaties between the Franks and his vizier.

We shall not here speak of some particular events concerning Mouffoul, nor the taking the castle of Dgiaber from the Ocaïlites by Nouredin, but return to the history of Egypt, of which the Franks were always endeavouring to get possession. This country was the magazine of all the commerce of India, and our Crusaders left no method untried to establish themselves there, in order to render themselves masters of this commerce: their ideas on this subject may be read in Sanute. The Mussulmans were jealous of its preservation, and, disturbed at seeing these Franks in Caïro, solicited Nouredin to send new troops thither. The Franks, who had a party in Egypt, laid siege to Bilbeïs (Pelusium), in order to prevent this, and took that place, which they pillaged, and made the inhabitants prisoners. Thence they marched to Caïro. Schaour set fire to that part of the city called Mefr, which continued burning fifty-four days. The khalif Adhed, who did not approve of all the steps of his vizier, wrote to Nouredin for assistance, informing him that the Mussulmans could no longer resist the Franks. He inclosed in his letter some hair of the women, to shew that

G g 2

they

they implored his help. The Franks pressed hard on Caïro: Schaour wrote to them, and, reminding them of their ancient connections, acquainted them with his fears from Noureddin, who had been engaged to come thither: on this account he demanded peace, offering a million of Egyptian dinars.

The khalif Adhed, on his part, in order to drive out the Franks, offered Noureddin the third of Egypt, on condition that Schirkouh repaired thither with an army, and remained at Caïro; the Egyptians were not less eager in their solicitations: Noureddin hesitated no longer, and sent Schirkouh with a powerful army. The Franks, informed that Schirkouh was approaching, retired.

Schirkouh entered Cairo the 7th of Rabi-alkher, where he was received by the khalif, who made him considerable presents. Schaour dissembled his discontent, and proposed to arrest Schirkouh; but his son Kamel dissuaded him, by shewing him that it would be taking the country from the Mussulmans to deliver it to the Franks. On the other hand, Saladin, who mistrusted Schaour, had with some others concerted his death, and, though this step was not agreeable to Schirkouh, persisted in his design, arrested the vizier, and Schirkouh sent his head to the khalif Adhed, who had demanded it of him: he then entered Caïro, and said to the people, who appeared alarmed, that the khalif ordered the palace of Schaour to be pillaged; the people executed it immediately. Schirkouh

was

was made vizier of Egypt in the place of Schaour; but this emir did not long survive his elevation and conquest; he fell ill and died on Saturday, the 22d of Dgioumadi-alkher. Selaheddin Yonfouf, or Saladin, his nephew, son of Nodjmeddin-ayoub was with him, with many other emirs, Kurdes, of his family. After the death of Schirkouh, the khalif Adhed persuaded that he had not much to fear from a man without power and without troops, resolved to promote Saladin to the dignity of vizier, whose ambition had not prompted him to solicit that place. The khalif gave him the title of Maleken-nafer, that is, the victorious king. The new vizier, returning to the palace of his uncle, and perceiving that the other emirs Kurdes, of his family paid no great respect to his person, and that none of them were pleased at his promotion, distributed the treasures of his uncle with profusion, conciliated the people by his liberality, made himself beloved by them, and acquired so great a credit as to weaken the party of the khalif Adhed. Nouredin was equally displeased at this promotion.

The Franks, who in all their expeditions never lost sight of Egypt, where they wished to establish themselves, assembled at this time to make an incursion into that country. Nouredin sent fresh troops to their assistance, among whom was an elder brother of Saladin, called Schamseddoulet Touranschah. Nouredin considered Saladin only as his lieutenant in Egypt; and, whilst this prince was

alive, Saladin dared not declare himself king of Egypt.

It was in the year 565, at the beginning of September, that the Franks, who were alarmed by the success of Schirkouh in Egypt, appeared before Damietta; they had written to the Franks of Andalusia, Sicily, and other places, to demand assistance, informing them that Jerusalem might be attacked. The priests and monks encouraged the Franks to take arms to besiege Damietta, hoping, if that place was taken, they should soon become masters of all Egypt. Saladin sent to that place all the succours he could assemble, and imparted to Nouredin his fears, and the mistrust he had of the Egyptians. Nouredin sent him fresh troops, and prepared on his part to lay waste the country of the Franks, in order to make a diversion, which obliged them to raise the siege of Damietta, after fifty days, leaving behind them their provisions and baggage.

Nouredin laid siege to the fortress of Krak, to protect the convoy which he sent into Egypt; but he did not remain long before that place. Being informed that two generals of the Franks were come with troops, he retired, ravaging the country, and encamped at Aschtara, to observe them. While he was there, a violent earthquake, in the environs of Aleppo, and throughout all Syria, obliged him to go to succour the places whose walls had been thrown down, and which it was necessary to rebuild. The Franks were not less employed in repairing

repairing the disorders occasioned in their territories by this event. They were again defeated by Schehabeddin Mahmoud, a prince of the Ortokides, who joined Nouredin, and were put to flight with the loss of many of their principal officers; amongst others the master of the hospitalers, who possessed the castle of the Kurdes, (Kin-elakrad) and who was one of the bravest of the Franks.

At this time died Cothbeddin Maudoud, brother to Nouredin, who reigned at Mouffoul. The author bestows great encomiums on this prince, as he does ~~under~~ the year following, 566, on khalif Monstandged Billah. Nouredin informed of the death of his brother, and the divisions respecting his succession, went to take Racca, Khabour, Nesibin, and other places, to guard them from the invasion of the Franks. He then besieged Sandgiar, of which he made himself master: these places belonged to his brother. He advanced thus to Mouffoul, which submitted to him: he did not keep all these cities, but restored them to his nephew Seïfeddin, who was declared king of Mouffoul.

In the year 567, the Franks having refused to give up some vessels which they had taken on their passage from Egypt to Syria, Nouredin sent to make an incursion towards Antioch and Tripoli; he besieged the fortress of Arca in person, whilst another division of his troops took Saphet and Arima; he then went towards Tripoli, ravaging and burning all that came in his way, whilst other

troops did the same towards Antioch. The Franks then offered to deliver up the vessels, and peace was made. They were like the Jews, says our author, who will pay no tribute till they are beaten: he at the same time complains how little faith was then to be met with, even amongst the Mussulmans. His father was concerned in the cargoes of these vessels. Noureddin ordered all the goods to be restored, but many took what did not belong to them.

It was in the same year 567 (A. D. 1171) in the month Mouharram, that the great revolution happened in Egypt, and which was the consequence of all the events that had previously taken place. Noureddin's design in sending armies into that country, was to be before the Franks, and to make himself master of it. Saladin, his lieutenant, had established himself there, and acquired a formidable party. Noureddin then ordered him to cause the name of the khalif of Bagdad to be substituted to that of Adhed Khalif of Egypt, in the public prayers. Saladin, who feared some insurrections would follow such a step, for it was in fact to declare the khalif of Egypt dethroned, excused himself, under pretence that the Egyptians were strongly attached to the Alides, from which family these khalifs pretended to be derived, whilst they detested those of Bagdad. Noureddin persisted. Happily the khalif Adhed fell sick; Saladin profited by this occasion, assembled all the emirs, and held a council to determine how the order of Noureddin

reddin should be executed. They were yet uncertain what part to take, and Saladin began to fear he should not succeed, when a Persian, named emir Alem, "whom, (says the author) I have many times seen at Mouffoul," offered to pray in the name of the khalif of Bagdad." The first Friday in Monharram, he mounted the pulpit, placed himself before the khatib (or preacher,) and prayed for the khalif Mostadhi Bamrillah, of Bagdad. No opposition was made to it, and the Friday following Saladin ordered all the khatibs of Mefr and Caïro to do the same, which they did without the least dispute; the same was then done throughout all the provinces, Adhed, who was dangerously ill, being unacquainted with what passed. If he die, said they, it is of no service to disturb the few days he has to live. In fact, he died without being informed of it. Saladin immediately took possession of his palace, and all the riches it contained; sent all the family of Adhed to another place, where they were kept under a strong guard; set many of his slaves at liberty, sold others, and thus cleared the whole palace.

Such was the end of the khalifs of Egypt: they had commenced in Africa, in the month Dhoulhedge, in the year 299, (of the Christian æra 911.) The first was Mahadi Abou Mohammed Abdallah, who built the city of Mahadia (on the coast of Barbary.) He reigned over all that part of Africa.

2. His son, Caim-bamrillah Aboulcasem Mohammed, succeeded him.

3. Next

3. Next reigned Almanfour Billah Abonthaher Ismaël, son of Caïm,

4. The fourth was Moezzeddin Allah Aboutemim Maad, son of Manfour, He sent an army into Egypt, under the conduct of one of his generals, named Dgiouhar, who conquered it in the month Schaban, 358, (A. D. 968,) and built Cairo, Moez then quitted Africa, and came to reside in Egypt, where his descendants reigned after him two hundred and eight years.

The successors of Moez were: 5. Aziz-billah, 6. Hakem-bamrillah, 7. Dhaher-l'ezaz-eddin-illah. 8. Moustanfer-billah. 9. Haphedhledin-illa. 10. Dhapher-billah. 11. Phaïz-billah, 12. Adhedledin-illah, who was the last.

Our author omits two khalifs between Moustanfer and Haphedh, which is doubtless an error of the copyist. This history, he says, he has related more circumstantially in his chronicle, under the reign of khalif Moustacdhi.

Saladin became master of all the treasures of the khalifs, took what he chose, distributed a part to his relations and emirs, and caused the rest to be sold. "No king in the world, (says the author) had collected so great a number of precious stones and pearls as were found amongst this treasure." Among other curiosities were a rod of emerald, and a mountain of yacout, besides about a hundred thousand chosen volumes, remarkable for the beauty of their writing. Nouredin sent to the khalif Mostadhi,

Mostadhi, at Bagdad, the important intelligence of his name being inserted in the prayers in Egypt. This gave great joy to Mostadhi, who sent a robe of honour to Nouredin, and black covering, (the colour of the Abasides) to put on the pulpits in Egypt.

After this conquest, Nouredin ordered Saladin to return into Syria with his troops, to join him in the siege of Krak, belonging to the Franks. Saladin began his march, and Nouredin waited for him at Damascus, where he soon learnt that Saladin had re-entered Egypt, under pretence, as he wrote him, that the Egyptians might rise in his absence. Fears and suspicions of Nouredin had been instilled into the mind of this emir, which was the reason of his disobedience. Nouredin, displeased at this conduct, determined to go into Egypt and drive out Saladin. The latter, who was informed of it, assembled all his relations and emirs, to ask their advice: in this, they by no means agreed; several said they were the slaves of Nouredin, and that his orders must be executed; they then wrote him word what had passed. The father of Saladin, not pleased with his son, called him an inexperienced boy, blamed him for having disclosed his sentiments before so many people, and advised him to write immediately to Nouredin, to induce him to lay aside his design: with this advice Saladin complied. It appears, that this emir aspired to the throne of Egypt, at which he afterwards arrived.

In

In the same year 567, (of Christ 1171,) Nouredin established post pigeons (hemam al-haouadi); these are a particular kind of pigeons that return to their nests from a very great distance. At that time his dominions were so extensive that he could not be informed of the incursions made by the Franks soon enough to send succours to the places attacked. Men, with these pigeons, were stationed every where, from city to city, and at the first discovery a letter was written and fastened to the pigeon, who was dispatched to the next city; there another pigeon was charged with it; and thus in one day the news was conveyed to Nouredin. Thus they were enabled to surprise the Franks in their expeditions.

In 568, A. D. 1172, Dhoulnoun, son of Danischmend, king of Malathie and Siouas, requested the aid of Nouredin against Kilidge Arslan, sultan of Iconium, who had just seized on his dominions. Nouredin, who was not accustomed to make war on Mussulman princes, but, on the contrary, to defend them against the enterprizes of the Franks, wrote to Kilidge Arslan, to induce him to restore to Dhoulnoun what he had taken from him. But Kilidge Arslan returning no answer, Nouredin seized Bahsna and Marasch, whilst another body of his troops took Sionas. This war, however, was attended with no other consequences. Nouredin, after several letters, wrote one in which he confined his demands to three conditions. Kilidge Arslan, says the author, was attached to *the philosophic sect*,

as he expressed it : on this account Noureddin required him first to make a new profession of faith in the presence of his envoy, a remarkable circumstance, as the Mussulmans and Christians treated together confidentially ; in the next place, to furnish troops whenever they were wanted to make war on the Franks ; and lastly, to give his daughter in marriage to his nephew Seïfeddin Ghazi. Kilidge Arslan accepted these conditions ; the peace was concluded, and Noureddin returned, leaving a body of troops, commanded by one of his emirs, at Sionas, for the service of Dhoulnoun.

In the year 569 (of Christ 1173) Noureddin was at Damascus, preparing to go into Egypt with an army, after leaving in Syria a sufficient number of troops to resist the Franks, in case of an attack. He was displeased with Saladin, and resolved to make him quit that country. But when the latter saw himself on the point of being obliged to yield himself up to Noureddin, he heard, that he died at Damascus, on Wednesday the 11th of Schoual. This unexpected event produced great changes in these countries. Noureddin had ordered an army to go from Egypt into Yemen, under the command of Schamseddoulet, brother to Saladin. This emir subdued that province, and caused public prayers to be made in the name of Noureddin, in the two mosques of Mecca and Medina : but this prince did not enjoy the conquest, and Schamseddoulet became afterwards king of Yemen.

Nou-

Noureddin was succeeded by his son Malek-essaleh, who was yet a youth. All the emirs took the oath of fidelity to him, and in Egypt, Saladin caused the public prayers to be made, and money to be coined, in his name. There were however some disturbances in Noureddin's family; but it is useless to notice circumstances of so little importance. Let us proceed to the portrait our author gives of this prince, who became so formidable to our crusades.

Noureddin was fair, stout, and well made. Except the first khalifs, and Omar, son of Abdolaziz, there never was so great a prince as Noureddin, according to our author, whether we consider his conduct, his prudence, or his justice. Though extremely rich he was simple and modest in his dress, never wearing either silk, gold, or silver, which the law prohibited: he neither drank wine, nor would he permit it to be sold in his dominions. He was exact in the duty of prayer, and rose early to perform it: the rest of the day he employed himself in state affairs. He was not prodigal of his treasures to those who requested favours of him: "What is in my hands, (said he) belongs not to me; I am but the treasurer of the Mussulmans." He attended to the complaints of every one, and was speedy and strict in administering justice. It is related, that a man, full of confidence in his justice, came to settle at Damascus; but, after the death of Noureddin, Saladin having taken possession of that city, his soldiers and emirs com-

committed many excesses, which he took no care to suppress. This man, who had made complaints, in vain, came down from the castle one day, tearing his cloaths, and crying, *O Noureddin, where art thou! if thou wert witness to the injustices we suffer, thou wouldst have pity on us: where is thy justice!* He repaired to the tomb of Noureddin, followed by the people, and they shed tears together over his body. At length, the fear of a revolt obliged the conqueror to indemnify the man, who, continuing to weep, said to Saladin, by whom he was asked the reason, “ I weep because the justice of Noureddin has deserted us.”

Noureddin built a court of justice, where he sat twice a week with the judges. He was brave and experienced in war: in peace he exercised himself at the mallet and the bow. He built the walls of a great number of cities, of Aleppo, Hama, Hemeffa, Damascus, Maredin, Schizour, Manbedge, and several fortresses: at Aleppo, Hama, Damascus, and other places, he founded colleges, in which were taught the doctrines of Schafi and Hanifa; he built and endowed mosques at Mouffoul and Hama; and Bimarestem, or hospitals for the poor, the most considerable of which is at Damascus. On the frontiers he erected towers for observing the motions of the Franks, in which he placed pigeons: he built religious houses for the retreats of the sophis, and gave them funds for their support, places for teaching religion, schools for orphans, and places
where

where these orphans had pensions for reading the Alcoran. He expended prodigious sums on these foundations. In Syria alone, the author says, they amounted, in his time, to nine thousand Sourien-dinars (or dinars of Tyre) a month.

This prince received men of learning, doctors, and sophis, with the greatest distinction: he arose, went to meet them, and made them sit down, favours which he did not grant to his emirs.

The author considerably abridges the continuation of the history of Noureddin's successors, and it grows less important. Seïfeddin Ghazi, who reigned at Moussoul, took possession of many places. Saladin, who only aspired to become king of Egypt, made himself master of Damascus; but did not set aside the public prayers for Saleh, Noureddin's successor, in that city, a circumstance that deceived no one. *What happened, happened, says the author, doubt not but it was right, and enquire no further.*

The author mentions also the death of Mostadhibillah, khalif of Bagdad, in the year 575, of Christ 1179; and that of Seïfeddin Ghazi, grandson of Emadeddin Zenghi, who was succeeded by his brother Azeddin.

Malek-effaleh Ismaël, who succeeded his father Noureddin, at Aleppo, died in that city in 577, not being then twenty years old. He named Azeddin, whom we have just mentioned, for his successor; he thus succeeded to the possessions of all the Atabek princes, at least what Saladin left them.

them. This prince, indeed, delayed not to go into Syria, where; favoured by the divisions that arose in the family of the Atabeks, he took several princes.

This ambitious prince died in the month Sepher of the year 589 (A. D. 1193). Azeddin, upon receiving information of this event, was desirous of retaking some of these places, but was prevented by death, on the 27th of Schaban, in the same year: he was succeeded by his son Noureddin. These Atabeks began to grow very weak, and Saladin's successor in Egypt took from them their ancient patrimony, so that their possessions were soon reduced to a few places, and they were no longer able to play an important part in this country.

Noureddin II. who also reigned at Moussoul, died in the year 607, (A. D. 1210) in the month Redgeb: Malek-el-caher Azzeddin was his successor. Our author, who lived in his time, gives him the pompous titles of king, conqueror of the world, just, protector, victorious, brave, and pious: he styles him the glory of the world, and of religion, the sultan of Islamism, and of the Mussulmans, and the protection of Aboulmodhaffer-masoud, commander of the faithful. All these pompous titles suit but little with the feebleness of his actual taste; but it is the custom of the eastern princes to assume a multitude of empty titles. After having made the eulogium of this prince, the author finishes this abridgment of the history

of the Atabeks, with saying, that it is more amply recorded in his great chronicle.

This manuscript is in good condition, the writing very eligible; but it is not mentioned at what time it was copied. In the latter pages some places were left blank, to have been filled up with titles, in red letters, as there are in the preceding part of the volume.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

ERRATA.

VOL. II.

PAGE 15, line 22, for *Hamzabay*, read *Hamzabeg*. P. 46, l. 13, for *it*, read *him*. P. 47, l. 1, for *castan*, read *castan*. P. 60, l. 15, dele *had*. P. 62, note, for *casting*, read *cannon*. P. 93, l. 4, for *ratio*, read *rations*. P. *idem*, l. 27, for *port*, read *post*. P. 101, l. 23, dele *of*. P. 106, first note, l. 1, after *this*, insert *is*. P. 130, l. 19, for *faddam*, read *faddan*. P. 131, l. 28, for *confist*, read *confists*. P. 135, l. 15, for *scaifes*, read *scarfes*. P. 167, l. 3, after *rather*, insert *than*. P. 214, l. 26, after *it*, insert *is*. P. 248, l. 13, insert *Armagnac*. P. 256, l. 6, for *Purelle*, read *Pucelle*. P. 291, l. 27, for *ruined*, read *rhimed*. P. 295, l. 10, dele *one*, and for *arm*, read *armour*. P. 297, l. 1, for *each and*, read *each with*. P. 306, l. 17, for *for*, read *of*. P. 312, l. 3, for *Petria*, read *Petri*. P. 313, l. 18, after *peace*, insert *his*; l. 29, dele *the*. P. 321, l. 21, for *Chriftiany*, read *Chriftianity*. P. 335, l. 6, dele *were*; l. 11, dele *to*. P. 342, l. 4, for *suppor*, read *support*. P. 400, l. 30, for *behind*, read *upon*. P. 412, l. 11, for *nim*, read *him*. P. 414, l. 1, after *induce*, insert *them*. P. 447, l. 13, for *sometimes*, read *sometime*. P. 455, l. 45, dele *under*.



colls: [4468] pp.

84-5931 C.2

